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**AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT  
CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED**





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# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

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To

MY WIFE

JOSEPHINE RICE CREELMAN,

IN AFFECTIONATE APPRECIATION OF ENCOURAGEMENT

AND COÖPERATION IN ITS PREPARATION,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

201324



## FOREWORD

It is one of the happy omens of a brighter future in regions of religious belief that thoughtful men and women who lay no claim to first-rate scholarship are yet exercising their unquestionable right to make judgments of their own. They are less content than ever before to take their views of the Bible and of its teachings at second hand. They furnish a growing audience which is eager to follow in the paths blazed for them by broadminded explorers, whose purpose is to make a way for others rather than to gain individual distinction in discovery.

This Introduction will be of notable service to those who seek to master for themselves the reasons for the conclusions of reverent modern scholarship. The task is not a difficult one. No science is less obscure in its main trends and applications than that of historical criticism. Common sense plays a very large part in reaching its conclusions. It merely utilizes in the interpretation of the varied literature of the Bible those accepted canons of fair inquiry upon which human judgments concerning all other literary growth are based. It does not necessarily confine itself to those rules or methods. It may be as deeply spiritual as devotional study. It underlies, in fact, the richest and most permanent advances in Biblical knowledge of the present age. Such work as that of Davidson, George Adam Smith, Moffatt, Bruce, Skinner, Bennett, McFadyen, and Adeney in Great Britain or of Harper, McGiffert, Kent, Moore, Smith, Burton, Paton and others in this country, — interpretative and historical work of the most helpful type, which has developed a love of Biblical study in the hearts of hundreds of thousands, — is absolutely based upon a broad, generous, historical criticism.

This volume makes a place for itself by its arrangement alone. No one can at this day write a critical Introduction to the Old Testament which will be at once helpful and very novel. The world of scholarship has excellent tools at its

command. But the larger world occupied by earnest and thoughtful Biblical students has no manual which meets its needs in the way undertaken by this work. The historical arrangement of the subject-matter is of very great value to the student. It contributes to the easy organization and interpretation of the whole Bible. Such a mastery is to be greatly craved by every clear-headed student, since everyone is now recognizing the indisputable fact that the Bible must be interpreted as a whole, in order to be safely and sanely interpreted at all. The arrangement of the Old Testament by periods and the critically unified consideration of each group of varied Biblical writings which chronologically belong together will greatly aid in the clear and final grasp of the essential values of those writings. No one can fully appreciate Old Testament prophecy or wisdom or law or even poetry without the cultivation and the application of the historic sense.

Another value of this Introduction will be its clearness and sanity. It is not at all true that the acceptance of critical methods and principles impairs the spirituality of the student and destroys his sense of real religious values. There is such a thing as the maintenance of a rich and free religious experience while fearlessly following investigations into Biblical facts. This volume gives expression in the main to the opinions which men and women may hold without feeling that they have lost their anchorage and are drifting into the darkness. It is also quite free from the professional formulæ and cryptic symbolism by which so much of Biblical criticism has been made unintelligible to average readers of the Bible.

I take it as a very great privilege that I have been permitted to pen these words in introduction of the master-work of my long-time fellowstudent, colleague and friend.

FRANK K. SANDERS.

SEPTEMBER, 1916.

## PREFACE

OWING to the fact that there are already such excellent Introductions to the Old Testament, incorporating the results of modern scholarship, either written or translated by English-speaking scholars, some word of explanation is due for the publication of another book on this subject. The justification of such an attempt is found in the specific purpose and arrangement of material in this volume as compared with the usual Old Testament Introduction. This is indicated by the title. The customary method followed in Introductions of the Old Testament has been to deal with the different books, following either the order in which they occur in our English versions (*e.g.* Bennett), or according to their arrangement in the Hebrew Canon (*e.g.* Driver),<sup>1</sup> or grouping them together in such convenient literary divisions as history, prophecy and poetry, etc. (*e.g.* Cornill). In distinction from such plans and methods this Introduction discusses and classifies the Old Testament literature from the standpoint of history and chronology, *i.e.* the different books, or sections, or chapters, or verses, as the case may be, are taken up in chronological sequence as they relate to definite periods of Hebrew history, either as the Old Testament furnishes the history of those periods, or as its literature had its origin in them.

For example, the narrative material of the Hexateuch, which is treated in the Introduction to the periods of Primitive Times to the Conquest of Western Palestine, while it relates to these periods and describes them, is composed of different sources, the earliest of which, in its present form, is considerably later than the latest of these periods. (Cf. pp. 20 ff. with 13 ff.)

On the other hand, in the Introduction to such periods as those of the Divided Kingdom and the Exile is found much literature

<sup>1</sup> For the Jewish order of Old Testament books, cf. p. 1, n. <sup>1</sup>.



which had its origin within the years which define their beginning and end. (Cf. pp. 85 ff., 170 ff.)

The advantage of such a grouping of Old Testament history and literature can readily be seen when the present order of the Old Testament books is considered. As arranged in the English versions, they may be grouped conveniently under the following general classification: (a) Historical and Legal (Genesis to Esther); (b) Poetical (Job to Song of Solomon); and (c) Prophetical (Isaiah to Malachi). The first group contains a two-fold historical series, partially parallel (cf. pp. 1 f.), each of which (leaving out the legal portions of the Pentateuch) records events in the life of the Hebrews in historical sequence.

The books of the second and third groups, however, do not follow an exact chronological arrangement as they are at present classified, and they are also separated from their historical setting, which is found in the first collection (*i.e.* the historical narratives). Their present grouping and position in the Bible were determined almost entirely by general similarity of literary characteristics, as poetry and prophecy, while the question of historical (or chronological) adjustment was not taken into consideration. Accordingly those who desire to follow in chronological order, not only the historical books of the Old Testament, but also other portions, as they belong in point of time and periods, are placed at great disadvantage by the arrangement of the English Bible. It is for this reason that there is a place for an Introduction such as this volume, which aims to serve as a guide to the history and literature of the Old Testament, chronologically arranged.

It may be added that the value of such an arrangement of the contents of the Old Testament is self-evident as an aid to an intelligent grasp and understanding of the history, of the religious teaching and the progressive revelation of the mind and will of God to His ancient people, and through them to the world. The historical setting of the writings mentioned above in the second and third groups (especially the latter = prophetic literature) greatly assists in giving clearness of interpretation and vividness of impression to them. On the other hand, this chronological setting in many

cases supplies most valuable supplemental information to the historical books. Years in Israel's history, of which the historical literature furnishes scanty details or possibly none at all, may become luminous in this way, chiefly from the prophetical writings.

A good illustration of this is the light which is thrown upon the reign of Jeroboam II of the Northern Kingdom from the prophecies of Amos and Hosea. The book of Kings devotes only seven verses to his reign (2 Ki. 14:23 ff.); see pp. 141 ff. Cf. also p. 200.

Prophecy is also of special value in furnishing accurate knowledge of the social, moral and religious conditions of the nation, as well as of the inner political movements and tendencies.

At the end of each of the periods, to which the different portions of the Old Testament writings belong, there is found in this volume an outline of the historical narratives relating to the particular period, and the literature belonging to it, arranged in chronological order. The grounds for the order followed are furnished by the introductory section on the historical narratives and literature of each period, supplemented by the notes on "sources" and "chronology" in connection with the outline of the Biblical material. This is a feature, as previously noticed, which is not found in the standard Introductions of the present. In the order adopted, while the attempt has been made to be guided by the most assured results of modern Biblical scholarship, variant views, within reasonable limits, are also given. It is to be noted that there is practical agreement among scholars to-day in reference to the *leading* questions of the date and sources of the Old Testament books. In the main the position of the contributors of Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (HDB) is the one represented in this volume.

A word may be said in reference to the classes for whom this Introduction has been especially prepared.

It aims to serve the purpose of a text book for classes in Biblical Literature and History in the higher institutions of learning (Colleges, Universities and Theological Seminaries). It may well be used as a basis for the instructor's lectures, or for the supplementary employment of an Old Testament

history, since it presents the literature and history in their chronological arrangement. This also will be an obvious advantage to the student. For his benefit especially has been incorporated the material contained in the smaller print in the introductions to each period, as well as the notes on "composition of the literature," "chronology," etc., in connection with the outline of the Biblical material given.

This volume is also designed for the use of the busy minister, who may desire to know the conclusions of modern scholarship. It will serve the purpose of a *Vade-mecum* of the Old Testament to him. By the aid of the indices any book or section can be found, with the reasons for the historical setting given to it supplied in this Introduction.

It is the hope as well of the author that it will prove helpful to those readers and students of the Bible who, in increasing numbers, either as members of advanced Bible classes or in private reading and study, desire to avail themselves of the results of scholarly research, as it has determined the true chronological arrangement of the Old Testament history and literature. This volume with its introductions to each period and outlines of Biblical material, if used in conjunction with the American Revised Version, with its divisions of the chapters into paragraphs and its analysis at the head of each column, will furnish sufficient aid to enable any one to read the Old Testament intelligently and in its historical order.

As this book is not for Biblical experts but for readers and students of the English Bible, the references to literature are confined to books in the English language. The large volume of literature in Great Britain and America on Biblical subjects in recent years makes this source sufficiently comprehensive and authoritative for all practical purposes. Such Biblical dictionaries as Hastings and the *Encyclopædia Biblica*; the commentaries in the series of the International Critical, Westminster, Century Bible, the Bible for Home and School; also the best volumes of the Expositor's Bible and the Cambridge Bible series; the scholarly productions of the International Theological Library; besides numerous works on Old Testament History, Archæology, Introduction and Theology and general interpretation (many of which

though of a popular character are also scholarly), — are sufficient evidence of the valuable field of literature in English which the student has to draw upon to-day.

The various notes on chronology, composition of the narratives and other literary productions, etc., in connection with the outline of the Biblical material (as chronologically arranged at the end of each period in this volume), have been condensed as much as possible, considering the great mass of critical material which had to be sifted, in order to bring the book within reasonable compass. This has meant, to some extent at least, a sacrifice of literary form in the interest of economy of space. Only what have been regarded as the most important critical problems have been noted and discussed. Others which might have been considered, had it seemed advisable to extend the volume, have either been omitted entirely or references have been given to authorities where their discussion may be found.

For the same reason other topics, such as “literary parallels” with the Biblical material (*e.g.* between the Creation and Flood stories of Genesis and the early Babylonian narratives, and in other places), which might have been included legitimately in a work of this character, have been omitted.

While a wide range of literature has been carefully consulted in the preparation of this work, the references to authorities in the foot-notes and elsewhere are confined generally to a few selected out of many.

The number of abbreviations to designate the names of books and authors is somewhat limited.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that this will add to the utility of the book by saving the student’s time and avoiding confusion. The abbreviations which are used are to authorities which are constantly referred to throughout the book; *e.g.* LOT = Driver’s “Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.”

It may be added that questions relating to the interpretation of the text, or the literature (except as they bear on the problem of sources), or of the historicalness of the narratives, are strictly outside the province of this volume. Such data

<sup>1</sup> For this suggestion the author is indebted to Professor H. P. Smith, cf. his *Old Testament History*, p. xxiv.

as have a bearing on the chronological sequence of the narratives and the historical setting of the literature, and as a part of this whatever relates to the demarcation of the sources of the Biblical writings, are the almost exclusive matters discussed and employed.

This book, which to a considerable extent has grown out of the practical needs of the classroom, has been in preparation for a number of years, as time has been available in connection with professional duties. Its inception dates from the years the writer was Instructor in Biblical Literature in Yale University (1893-1899). The bulk of the work, however, was done during his professorship in the Congregational College of Canada, Montreal (1899-1908). This in turn has been carefully revised several times since.

In the preparation of this Introduction a wide range of literature has been consulted, as is indicated by the list of references on pp. xxiii-xxix. It is needless to add that it is largely under obligation to these authorities. Originality of investigation is not claimed in this work. Its object is largely to incorporate and make available the results of the best modern scholarship in such form as, it is hoped, will be helpful to intelligent Old Testament study.

In addition the author wishes to acknowledge special personal indebtedness to Professor Irving F. Wood, Ph.D., of Smith College, who during the initial stages of preparation examined the manuscript and gave helpful criticism; and to Professor Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York, who more recently examined the manuscript and made a number of valuable suggestions, which have been adopted, regarding the headings and classification of notes in connection with the outline of the Biblical material at the end of each period. His thanks are chiefly due to his friend of many years, Rev. Dr. Frank K. Sanders of New York City, formerly Dean of the Theological Faculty of Yale University, for encouragement to undertake the task, for important suggestions at different times during the course of preparation, and for his great kindness and valued service in carefully reading the completed manuscript. For valuable suggestions in connection with the correction of the proof the author is greatly indebted to Rev. Philip S.

Moxom, D.D., Springfield, Mass., and Mr. William D. Pennypacker, Richmond, Va.

It is with a strong conviction that some such work as this is needed that this Introduction is published. This conviction has grown out of the writer's experience as a teacher of the Old Testament, supplemented by frequent requests on the part both of laymen and clergymen to recommend some book, which would aid the reader and student of the Old Testament to follow it in chronological order. That this volume may serve to meet this need is the author's earnest hope. If it in some measure does, he will feel repaid for the time and labor expended upon it.

HARLAN CREELMAN.

ASHMORE LODGE, WORTHINGTON, MASS.  
September, 1916.



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## LIST OF REFERENCE LITERATURE

THE following is a list of the principal authorities consulted in the preparation of this volume, and to which references are made throughout it, with the abbreviations used in their citation. The various articles in the Bible Dictionaries are not indicated in this list, but are found in connection with the reference literature given with the different Old Testament books, etc., in the introductory sections of each period.

- ADENEY, EZRA, ETC. = The books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther (Expos. B.). 1893.
- ADENEY, SONG OF SOL., ETC. = The books of Song of Solomon and Lamentations (Expos. B.). 1895.
- AITKEN, JOB = The book of Job, in Bible Handbooks series.
- BACON, EX. = The Triple Tradition of the Exodus. 1894.
- BACON, GEN., ETC. = The Genesis of Genesis. 1892.
- BALL, JER. = The Prophecies of Jeremiah, chaps. 1-20 (Expos. B.). 1902.
- BALL, LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT EAST. 1899.
- BARNES, CHR. = Comms. on 1-2 Chronicles (Camb. B.). 1899.
- BARNES, KI. = Comms. on 1-2 Kings in R. V. (Camb. B.). 1908.
- BARTON, ECCLES. = Comm. on Ecclesiastes (Int. Crit.). 1908.
- BATTEN, EZRA, ETC. = Comms. on Ezra-Nehemiah (Int. Crit.). 1913.
- BEECHER (W. J.), DATED EVENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. 1907.
- BENNETT, CHR. = The Books of Chronicles (Expos. B.). 1894.
- BENNETT, EX. = Comm. on Exodus (Cen. B.). 1908.
- BENNETT, GEN. = Comm. on Genesis (Cen. B.). 1904.
- BENNETT, INTROD. = A Biblical Introduction (+ N. Test. Introd. by Adeney). 1899.
- BENNETT, JER. = The Prophecies of Jeremiah, chaps. 21-52 (Expos. B.). 1895.
- BENNETT, JOSH. = The book of Joshua (SBOT). 1899.
- BENNETT, POST-EXIL. PROPHS. = The Post-Exilic Prophets. 1907.
- BENNETT, PRIMER, ETC. = A Primer of the Bible. 1898.
- BEVAN, DAN. = Comm. on Daniel. 1892.

- BEWER, JOEL = Comm. on Joel, in vol. 2 of *Minor Prophs.* (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- BEWER, JONAH = Comm. on Jonah, in vol. 3 of *Minor Prophs.* (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- BEWER, OBAD. = Comm. on Obadiah, in vol. 2 of *Minor Prophs.* (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- BIBLE HANDBOOKS, *e.g.* Comms. on Job, Haggai, etc.
- BOOK BY BOOK, by various contributors, *e.g.* Proverbs by Davidson. 1901.
- BREASTED, ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT, vol. 1. 1906.
- BREASTED, HIST. EGYPT = A History of the Ancient Egyptians (in the Historical series for Bible Students). 1908.
- BRIGGS, HOLY SCRIPTS. = The Study of Holy Scriptures. 1900.
- BRIGGS, PSAL. = Comms. on the Psalms, 2 vols. (Int. Crit.). 1906-7.
- BRUCE, APOLOGETICS. 1892.
- BUDDE, RELIG. ISR. = Religion of Israel to the Exile. 1899.
- BUHL, CANON, ETC. = The Canon and Text of the Old Testament. 1892.
- CAMB. B. = Comms. in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" series.
- CAMB. THEO. ESSAYS = Cambridge Theological Essays. 1905.
- CEN. B. = Comms. in the "New Century Bible" series.
- CHAPMAN, INTROD. PENT. = An Introduction to the Pentateuch. 1911.
- CHAPMAN AND STREANE, LEV. = Comm. on Leviticus (Camb. B.). 1914.
- CHARLES, DAN. = Comm. on Daniel (Cen. B.). 1913.
- CHB, HEX. = The Hexateuch, 2 vols., by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby. 1900.
- CHEYNE, AIDS, ETC. = Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism. 1892.
- CHEYNE, FOUNDERS, ETC. = Founders of Old Testament Criticism. 1893.
- CHEYNE, HOS. = Comm. on Hosea (Camb. B.). 1884.
- CHEYNE, INTROD. ISA. = Introduction to the book of Isaiah. 1895.
- CHEYNE, ISA. (SBOT) = The book of the Prophet Isaiah (SBOT). 1898.
- CHEYNE, JER. LIFE AND TIMES = Jeremiah, his Life and Times (in the Men of the Bible series). 1888.
- CHEYNE, JEW. RELIG. LIFE = Jewish Religious Life after the Exile. 1898.
- CHEYNE, JOB AND SOL. = Job and Solomon. 1887.
- CHEYNE, MIC. = Comm. on Micah (Camb. B.). 1895.
- CHEYNE, ORIGIN PSAL. = Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter (Bampton lectures of 1889). 1891.
- CORNILL, HIST. ISR. = A History of the People of Israel. 1899.
- CORNILL, INTROD. = An Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. 1907.
- CORNILL, PROPHS. ISR. = The Prophets of Israel. 1895.
- CURTIS, CHR. = Comms. on 1-2 Chronicles (Int. Crit.). 1910.
- DAVIDSON, EZEK. = Comm. on Ezekiel (Camb. B.). 1893.

- DAVIDSON, ISA. = Comm. on Isaiah (TB). 1902.
- DAVIDSON, JOB = Comm. on Job (Camb. B.). 1886.
- DAVIDSON, NAH., ETC. = Comms. on Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah (Camb. B.). 1896.
- DAVIDSON, O. T. PROPHC. = Old Testament Prophecy. 1904.
- DAVIES, EZRA, ETC. = Comms. on Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther (Cen. B.). 1909.
- DAVIES, PSAL. = Comm. on Psalms 73-150, vol. 2 (Cen. B.). 1906.
- DAVISON, PSAL. = Comm. on Psalms 1-72, vol. 1 (Cen. B.). 1906.
- DELITZSCH, PSAL. = Comms. on the Psalms, 3 vols. 1887-89.
- DODS, HAG., ETC. = Comms. on Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (Bible Handbooks). 1881.
- DRIVER, DAN. = Comm. on Daniel (Camb. B.). 1901.<sup>1</sup>
- DRIVER, DEUT. = Comm. on Deuteronomy (Int. Crit.). 1902.
- DRIVER, EX. = Comm. on Exodus (Camb. B.). 1911.
- DRIVER, GEN. = Comm. on Genesis (West. C.). 1911.
- DRIVER, ISA. LIFE AND TIMES = Isaiah, his Life and Times (in the Men of the Bible series). 1893.
- DRIVER, JER. = The book of the Prophet Jeremiah. 1906.
- DRIVER, JOEL, ETC. = Comms. on Joel and Amos (Camb. B.). 1901.
- DRIVER, MINOR PROPHS. = Comms. on the 2nd six Minor Prophs., vol. 2 (Cen. B.). 1906.
- DRIVER AND WHITE, LEV. (SBOT) = Leviticus (SBOT). 1898.
- EBI. = Encyclopædia Biblica, 4 vols. 1899-1903.
- ENCY. BRIT. = Encyclopædia Britannica (11th ed.). 1910-11.
- EWALD, PSAL. = Comms. on the Psalms, 2 vols. 1880-81.
- EXPOS. B. = The "Expositor's Bible" series.
- FARRAR, DAN. = The book of Daniel (Expos. B.). 1895.
- FARRAR, KI. = The First and Second Books of Kings, 2 vols. (Expos. B.). 1893-94.
- FARRAR, MINOR PROPHS. = The Minor Prophets (in the Men of the Bible series). 1890.
- FISHER (G. P.), NATURE AND METHOD OF REVEL. = The Nature and Method of Revelation. 1890.
- FOWLER, HIST. LIT., ETC. = A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel. 1912.
- GENUNG, EPIC OF INNER LIFE. 1893.
- GENUNG, KOHELETH = The Words of Koheleth. 1904.
- GIBSON, JOB = Comm. on Job (West. C.). 1899.
- GILLIES, JER. = Jeremiah; the Man and his Message. 1907.
- GORDON (A. R.), EARLY TRAD. GEN. = The Early Traditions of Genesis. 1907.

<sup>1</sup> Note also LOT as one of Driver's works to which constant reference is made in this volume.



- GORDON (A. R.), POETS, ETC. = The Poets of the Old Testament. 1913.
- GRAY, INTROD. = A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament. 1913.
- GRAY, ISA. 1-27 = Comm. on Isaiah, chaps. 1-27, vol. 1 (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- GRAY, NUM. = Comm. on Numbers (Int. Crit.). 1906.
- GRIFFIS, LILY AMONG THORNS. 1895.
- GUNKEL, LEGENDS OF GEN. = The Legends of Genesis. 1907.
- HARPER (A), DEUT. = The book of Deuteronomy (Expos. B.). 1901.
- HARPER (A), SONG OF SOL. = Comm. on the Song of Solomon (Camb. B.). 1902.
- HARPER (W. R.), AMOS, ETC. = Comms. on Amos and Hosea, vol. 1 of Minor Prophs. (Int. Crit.). 1905.
- HARVEY-JELLIE, CHR. = Comms. on 1-2 Chronicles (Cen. B.). 1906.
- HDB = Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols. + extra vol. 1901-04.
- HEROD. = Herodotus.
- HOMMEL, HEBR. TRAD. = The Ancient Hebrew Tradition. 1897.
- HORTON, MINOR PROPHS. = Comms. on the 1st six Minor Prophs., vol. 1 (Cen. B.). 1906.
- HORTON, PROV. = The book of Proverbs (Expos. B.). 1891.
- HUNTER, AFTER EXILE. 2 vols. 1890.
- INT. CRIT. = The "International Critical" series of commentaries.
- JEW. ENCY. = The Jewish Encyclopædia, 12 vols. 1901-06.
- JEW. QUART. REV. = The Jewish Quarterly Review.
- JOS. ANT. = Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews.
- JOS. C. AP. = Josephus, Against Apion.
- JOURNAL BIB. LIT. = Journal of Biblical Literature.
- KAUTZSCH, LOT = Literature of the Old Testament. 1899.
- KENNEDY, LEV., ETC. = Comms. on Leviticus and Numbers (Cen. B.). 1911.
- KENNEDY, SAM. = Comms. on 1-2 Samuel (Cen. B.). 1905.
- KENNETT, COMPOS. ISA. = The Composition of the Book of Isaiah. 1910.
- KENT, BEGINNINGS, ETC. = The Beginnings of Hebrew History (Student's Old Testament series). 1904.
- KENT, DIVIDED KINGD. = The Divided Kingdom, vol. 2 of the History of the Hebrew People. 1897.
- KENT, HEROES, ETC. = Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History (Historical Bible series). 1909.
- KENT, HIST. BIOG., ETC. = Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives (Student's Old Testament series). 1905.
- KENT, ISR. LAWS AND PRECEDENTS = Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents (Student's Old Testament series). 1907.
- KENT, JEW. PEOPLE = A History of the Jewish People (Babylonian, Persian and Greek periods). 1899.

- KENT, LAWGIVERS = The Messages of Israel's Lawgivers. 1902.
- KENT, SERMONS, ETC. = The Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets (Student's Old Testament). 1910.
- KENT, SONGS, ETC. = The Songs, Hymns and Prayers of the Old Testament (Student's Old Testament). 1914.
- KENT, UNITED KINGD. = The United Kingdom, vol. 1 of the History of the Hebrew People. 1899.
- KENT, WISE MEN, ETC. = The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and their Proverbs. 1895.
- KING, CHRONS. EARLY BAB. KINGS = Chronicles concerning early Babylonian Kings. 1907.
- KIRKPATRICK, DIV. LIBRARY, ETC. = The Divine Library of the Old Testament. 1896.
- KIRKPATRICK, DOCT. PROPHS. = The Doctrine of the Prophets. 1897.
- KIRKPATRICK, PSAL. = Comms. on the Psalms, 3 vols. (Camb. B.). 1897-1901; also in one-vol. ed.
- KITTEL, HIST. HEBRS. = A History of the Hebrews, 2 vols. 1895.
- KITTEL, SCIENT. STUDY O. T. = The Scientific Study of the Old Testament. 1910.
- LOFTHOUSE, EZEK. = Comm. on Ezekiel (Cen. B.).
- LOT = Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, new ed. revised. 1913.<sup>1</sup>
- MCCURDY, HPM = History, Prophecy and the Monuments, 3 vols. 1894-1901; also in one-vol. ed.
- McFADYEN, HISTS. = The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians. 1901.
- McFADYEN, INTROD. = An Introduction to the Old Testament. 1905.
- McFADYEN, PSAL. = The Messages of the Psalmists. 1904.
- McNEILE, DEUT. = Deuteronomy, its Place in Revelation. 1912.
- McNEILE, EX. = Comm. on Exodus (West. C.). 1908.
- McNEILE, NUM. = Comm. on Numbers (Camb. B.). 1911.
- MARTIN, PROV., ETC. = Comms. on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs (Cen. B.). 1908.
- MITCHELL, HAG., ETC. = Comms. on Haggai and Zechariah, in vol. 3 of Minor Prophs. (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- MITCHELL, WORLD BEFORE ABR. = The World before Abraham. 1901.
- MOORE (G. F.), JUDG. = Comm. on Judges (Int. Crit.). 1898.
- MOORE (G. F.), JUDG. (SBOT) = The book of Judges (SBOT). 1898.
- MOORE (G. F.), LOT = The Literature of the Old Testament. 1913.
- O. AND N. TEST. STUDENT = Old and New Testament Student.

<sup>1</sup> It is important to notice that the page numbering of this (the last) ed. of LOT corresponds with the earlier eds., and hence the references to LOT in this vol. can be used for any ed. While the last issue incorporates new material and changes, the body of subject-matter is practically identical with previous editions.

- PATON, EARLY HIST. SYRIA, ETC. = The Early History of Syria and Palestine. 1901.
- PATON, ESTH. = Comm. on Esther (Int. Crit.). 1908.
- PEAKE, JER. = Comms. on Jeremiah, 2 vols. (Cen. B.). 1910, 1912.
- PEAKE, JOB = Comm. on Job (Cen. B.). 1905.
- PERITZ, O. T. HIST. = Old Testament History. 1915.
- PEROWNE, HAG., ETC. = Comms. on Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (Camb. B.). 1897.
- PEROWNE, PROV. = Comm. on Proverbs (Camb. B.). 1899.
- PETERS, RELIG. HEBRS. = The Religion of the Hebrews. 1914.
- PETRIE, HIST. EGYPT = A History of Egypt, 2 vols. 1897.
- PLUMPTRE, ECCLES. = Comm. on Ecclesiastes (Camb. B.). 1881.
- PORTER (F.), APOC. WRITERS = The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers. 1905.
- REDPATH, EZEK. = Comm. on Ezekiel (West. C.).
- RIGGS (J. S.), JEW. PEOPLE = A History of the Jewish People (Maccabean and Roman periods). 1900.
- ROBERTSON, EARLY RELIG. ISR. = The Early Religion of Israel. 1892.
- ROBERTSON, POET. AND RELIG., ETC. = The Poetry and Religion of the Psalms. 1898.
- ROBINSON, DEUT., ETC. = Comms. on Deuteronomy and Joshua (Cen. B.).
- ROGERS, CUNEIFORM PARALLELS = Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament. 1912.
- RYLE, CANON, ETC. = The Canon of the Old Testament. 1895.
- RYLE, EARLY NARRS. GEN. = The Early Narratives of Genesis. 1892.
- RYLE, EZRA, ETC. = Comms. on Ezra-Nehemiah (Camb. B.). 1893.
- RYLE, GEN. = Comm. on Genesis (Camb. B.). 1914.
- SANDAY, INSPIR. = Inspiration (Bampton Lectures, 1893).
- SANDERS, HIST. HEBRS. = History of the Hebrews. 1914.
- SANDERS, ETC., PROPHS. = Sanders and Kent, The Messages of the Earlier and Later Prophets, 2 vols. 1898, 1901.
- SAYCE, EARLY HIST. HEBRS. = The Early History of the Hebrews. 1899.
- SAYCE, HIGHER CRIT., ETC. = The Higher Criticism and the Monuments. 1894.
- SBOT = "The Sacred Books of the O. and N. Testaments" translation.
- SCHAFF-HERZOG, ENCY. = Encyclopedia, new ed. 12 vols. 1908-12.
- SCHMIDT, POETS = The Messages of the Poets. 1911.
- SCHULTZ, O. T. THEOL. = Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. 1892.
- SKINNER, DIVINE NAMES, ETC. = The Divine Names in Genesis. 1914.
- SKINNER, EZEK. = The book of Ezekiel (Expos. B.). 1893.
- SKINNER, GEN. = Comm. on Genesis (Int. Crit.). 1910.
- SKINNER, ISA. = Comms. on Isaiah, 2 vols. (Camb. B.). 1896, 1898.
- SKINNER, KI. = Comms. on 1-2 Kings (Cen. B.).

- SMITH (G. A.), BK. OF XII. = The Book of the Twelve Prophets, 2 vols. (Expos. B.). 1896, 1898.
- SMITH (G. A.), EARLY POET. ISR. = The Early Poetry of Israel (Schweich Lectures, 1910). 1912.
- SMITH (G. A.), ISA. = The Book of Isaiah, 2 vols. (Expos. B.). 1889-90.
- SMITH (G. A.), JERUSALEM = Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70. 2 vols. 1908.
- SMITH (G. A.), MODERN CRIT., ETC. = Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament. 1901.
- SMITH (H. P.), O. T. HIST. = Old Testament History. 1903.
- SMITH (H. P.), SAM. = Comms. on 1-2 Samuel (Int. Crit.). 1899.
- SMITH (J. M. P.), MAL. = Comm. on Malachi, in vol. 3 of the Minor Prophs. (Int. Crit.) 1912.
- SMITH (J. M. P.), MIC., ETC. = Comms. on Micah, Zephaniah and Nahum, in vol. 2 of Minor Prophs. (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- SMITH (W. R.), O. T. JEW. CHURCH<sup>2</sup> = The Old Testament and the Jewish Church, 2nd ed. 1902.
- SMITH (W. R.), PROPHS. ISR.<sup>2</sup> = The Prophets of Israel, 2nd ed. 1907.
- SPROTT, INSPIR. AND THE O. T. = Inspiration and the Old Testament.
- STRAHAN, JOB = The Book of Job Interpreted. 1913.
- STREANE, ESTH. = Comm. on Esther (Camb. B.). 1907.
- STREANE, JER., ETC. = Comms. on Jeremiah and Lamentations (Camb. B.). 1913.
- THATCHER, JUDG., ETC. = Comms. on Judges and Ruth (Cen. B.).
- TB = Temple Bible series of commentaries.
- TOFFTEEN, ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY. 1907.
- TOFFTEEN, HISTORIC EXODUS. 1909.
- TORREY, COMPOS., ETC., EZRA-NEH. = Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah. 1896.
- TOY, EZEK. = The book of the Prophet Ezekiel (SBOT). 1899.
- TOY, PROV. = Comm. on Proverbs (Int. Crit.). 1899.
- WADE, ISA. = Comm. on Isaiah (West. C.). 1911.
- WADE, O. T. HIST. = Old Testament History. 1908.
- WARD, HABAK. = Comm. on Habakkuk, in vol. 2 of Minor Prophs. (Int. Crit.). 1912.
- WEST. C. = Westminster series of commentaries.
- WELLHAUSEN, PSAL. (SBOT) = The book of Psalms (SBOT). 1896.
- WHITEHOUSE, ISA. = Comms. on Isaiah, 2 vols. (Cen. B.). 1905, 1908.
- WIENER, ESSAYS IN PENT. CRIT. = Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism. 1909.
- WILDEBOER, CANON, ETC. = The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. 1895.
- WORKMAN, SERV. OF JEH. = The Servant of Jehovah. 1907.



# ABBREVIATIONS

## 1. BIBLICAL AND APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OR SECTIONS

<i>Am.</i> = Amos.	<i>Lam.</i> = Lamentations.
<i>Cant.</i> = Canticles = the Song of Solomon.	<i>Lev.</i> = Leviticus.
<i>C.</i> = Chronicles (used especially when the name in full, or the abbreviation, <i>Chr.</i> , appears in the context).	<i>Lk.</i> = Luke.
<i>Chr.</i> = Chronicles.	<i>Macc.</i> = Maccabees, books of.
<i>Dan.</i> = Daniel.	<i>Mal.</i> = Malachi.
<i>Deut.</i> = Deuteronomy.	<i>Matt.</i> = Matthew.
<i>Deut.-Isa.</i> = Deutero-Isaiah, <i>i.e.</i> Isaiah, chaps. 40-55.	<i>Mic.</i> = Micah.
<i>Eccles.</i> = Ecclesiastes.	<i>Minor Prophs.</i> = Minor Prophets.
<i>Eccclus.</i> = Ecclesiasticus.	<i>Mk.</i> = Mark.
<i>Esth.</i> = Esther.	<i>Nah.</i> = Nahum.
<i>Ex.</i> = Exodus.	<i>Neh.</i> = Nehemiah.
<i>Ezek.</i> = Ezekiel.	<i>Num.</i> = Numbers.
<i>Ezra.</i>	<i>Obad.</i> = Obadiah.
<i>Gen.</i> = Genesis.	<i>Pent.</i> = Pentateuch, <i>i.e.</i> Genesis to Deuteronomy inclusive.
<i>Habak.</i> = Habakkuk.	<i>Prophs.</i> = Prophets.
<i>Hag.</i> = Haggai.	<i>Prov.</i> = Proverbs.
<i>Hex.</i> = Hexateuch, <i>i.e.</i> Genesis to Joshua inclusive.	<i>Ps.</i> = Psalm.
<i>Hos.</i> = Hosea.	<i>Pss.</i> = Psalms.
<i>Isa.</i> = Isaiah.	<i>Psal.</i> = Psalter = book of Psalms.
<i>Jer.</i> = Jeremiah.	<i>Rom.</i> = Romans.
<i>Job.</i>	<i>Ruth.</i>
<i>Joel.</i>	<i>S</i> = Samuel (used especially when the name in full, or the abbreviation, <i>Sam.</i> , appears in the context).
<i>Jon.</i> = Jonah.	<i>Sam.</i> = Samuel.
<i>Josh.</i> = Joshua.	<i>Song of Sol.</i> = Song of Solomon.
<i>Judg.</i> = Judges.	<i>Trito.-Isa.</i> = Trito-Isaiah, <i>i.e.</i> Isaiah, chaps. 56-66.
<i>Ki.</i> = Kings.	<i>Zech.</i> = Zechariah.
	<i>Zeph.</i> = Zephaniah.

## 2. SOURCES, TEXTS, VERSIONS, ETC.

- A. V.* = Authorized Version (1611).  
*Am. R. V.* = American ("Standard") Revised Version (1901).

- Ch.* = the Chronicler, *i.e.* the compiler of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah ; also used to designate all the material peculiar to the books of Chronicles and the compiler's contribution in Ezra-Neh. (Cf. pp. 64, n. 2; 201.)
- D* = the Deuteronomic Code or source, strictly = Deut. (5-11), 12-26 + 28.
- D*<sup>2</sup> = supplementary sections to the original book of Deut. and in the narrative part of the Hex., espec. in Josh., in the phraseology and spirit of *D* ; also Deut. editorial additions in Judg., Sam. and Ki.
- E* (in the Hexateuch) = the Elohist or Elohistie narrative.<sup>1</sup>
- E*<sup>2</sup> (in the Hexateuch) } = secondary or supplemental additions to the  
*E*<sup>s</sup> (in the Hexateuch) } original *E*, from the same school.
- E* (in Kings) = sometimes used to designate the Prophetic *historical* group of narratives, *e.g.* 1 Ki. 20 ; 22:1-38, etc. See pp. 57 f. (*e*).
- E* (in Ezra-Neh.) = the Memoirs of Ezra.
- El.* = the Elijah-Elisha narratives in Kings (*e.g.* 1 Ki. 17, etc.).
- E.V.* = English versions.
- H* = the Holiness Code, *i.e.* Lev. 17-26.
- J* = the Jehovist (or Yahwist) or Jehovistic (Yahwistic) narrative of the Hexateuch.<sup>2</sup>
- J*<sup>2</sup> } = secondary or supplemental additions to the  
*J*<sup>s</sup> } original *J*, from the same school.
- JE* = the combined sources *J* and *E*.
- JED* = the combined sources *J*, *E* and *D*.
- JEDP* = the combined sources *J*, *E*, *D* and *P*.
- LXX* = The Septuagint version.
- LXX* (*L*) } = the Septuagint, giving the recension of  
*LXX* (*Luc.*) } Lucian (Lagarde's ed. 1883).
- MT* = Massoretic text.
- N* = the Memoirs of Nehemiah.
- N. T.* } = the New Testament.  
*N. Test.* }
- O. T.* } = the Old Testament.  
*O. Test.* }
- P* = the Priestly source or Code of the Hex.
- P*<sup>1</sup> = used by some scholars for *H* (Lev. 17-26).
- P*<sup>2</sup> = used by some scholars for *P* (less Lev. 17-26).
- P*<sup>0</sup> = used by some scholars to designate the main body of the Priestly Code, less *P*<sup>h</sup>, *P*<sup>t</sup> and *P*<sup>s</sup>.
- P*<sup>h</sup> = used by some scholars for *H*.
- P*<sup>s</sup> = supplementary additions to *P*, from the same school.

<sup>1</sup> In addition some scholars apply this sign *E* to indicate certain narrative sections in Judges and Samuel ; cf. pp. 46 f., 48.

<sup>2</sup> In addition some scholars apply the symbol *J* to denote certain narrative sections in Judges and Samuel. See refs. n. 1.

- P<sup>t</sup>* = used by some scholars to designate a division of P, *i.e.* the "Priestly Teaching," *e.g.* Lev. 1-3, etc. See p. 266, v. a. (b).
- Pr.* = used by some scholars to indicate the Elijah-Elisha stories in Kings. Cf. El.
- Pr<sup>2</sup>* = used by some scholars to designate the Elisha stories in Kings.
- Pesh.* = the Peshitto (= Syriac) version.
- pre-Deut.* = pre-Deuteronomic, applied espec. to narrative material composed before the Deut. Code.
- R* = redactor.
- R<sup>D</sup>* = used interchangeably with *D<sup>2</sup>*.
- R<sup>D2</sup>* = exilic Deut. additions to the *R<sup>D</sup>* edition of Kings. (See pp. 60 ff.)
- R<sup>E</sup>*  
*R<sup>J</sup>*  
*R<sup>P</sup>* } = redactors within the schools of E, J and P respectively.
- R<sup>JE</sup>* = the compiler who combined J and E into JE.
- R. V.* = the Revised Version (1885).
- R. V. marg.* = the Revised Version, marginal reading.
- SS* = used by some scholars to denote the later Samuel and Saul stories.
- Syriac* = the Syriac Version.

### 3. MISCELLANEOUS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Ap.</i> = Appendix.</p> <p><i>art.</i> = article.</p> <p><i>arts.</i> = articles.</p> <p><i>Bible Dicts.</i> = Dictionaries of the Bible.</p> <p><i>bk.</i> = book.</p> <p><i>bks.</i> = books.</p> <p><i>c.</i> = about, used with numbers.</p> <p><i>cen.</i> = century.</p> <p><i>cf.</i> = compare.</p> <p><i>chap.</i> = chapter.</p> <p><i>chaps.</i> = chapters.</p> <p><i>chron.</i> = chronological.</p> <p><i>cont'd</i> = continued.</p> <p><i>contra</i> = opposite opinion.</p> <p><i>Comm.</i> = commentary.</p> <p><i>Comms.</i> = commentaries.</p> <p><i>Deut.</i> = Deuteronomic. See also <i>Deut.</i> under 1, p. xxxi.</p> <p><i>ed.</i> = edition.</p> <p><i>e.g.</i> = for example.</p> <p><i>espec.</i> = especially.</p> <p><i>f.</i> = after a number indicating one</p> | <p>to be added; <i>e.g.</i> vss. 6 f. = vss. 6 and 7.</p> <p><i>ff.</i> = after a number indicating more than one to be added</p> <p><i>Hebr.</i> = Hebrew.</p> <p><i>Ibid.</i> = the same authority as previously cited.</p> <p><i>i.e.</i> = that is.</p> <p><i>in loc.</i> = see authority cited, under the chap. section or topic which relates to the subject; <i>e.g.</i> "Judg. 1, see LOT in loc." = see LOT's discussion of Judg. 1.</p> <p><i>Introd.</i> = Introduction, espec. Introduction to the Old Testament.</p> <p><i>Intros.</i> = Introductions.</p> <p><i>Isr.</i> = Israel.</p> <p><i>l.</i> = line.</p> <p><i>lit.</i> = literally.</p> <p><i>marg.</i> = marginal reading in the Bible.</p> |
|--|---|



*mo.* = month.  
*mos.* = months.  
*MS.* = manuscript.  
*MSS.* = manuscripts.  
*n.* = note; *e.g.* *n.* 1 = note 1.  
*N. T.* } = New Testament.  
*N. Test.* }  
*O. T.* } = Old Testament.  
*O. Test.* }  
*p.* = page.  
*pp.* = pages.

*Prophs.* = Prophets.  
*Prophc.* = Prophecy.  
*Ps.* = psalm.  
*Pss.* = psalms.  
*ref.* = reference.  
*vers.* = version.  
*vol.* = volume.  
*vs.* = verse.  
*vss.* = verses.  
*yrs.* = years.

#### 4. SIGNS, ETC.

- = used in the sense of equals, contains, belongs to, comprises, indicates, etc.
- used to denote inclusion, *e.g.* 2 Ki. 1–12 = the 1st 12 chaps. of 2 Ki. *In a few instances* it is used as a sign of subtraction; *e.g.* on p. 351, line 21.
- + used to indicate that what follows this sign is to be included with what precedes.
- // used to denote sections or vss. of the O. Test. which are practically the same. It is also used to indicate synchronous events, or literary productions.
- § followed by a number indicates the paragraph cited; *e.g.* § 6 = paragraph 6.
- \* used after a vs. or vss. to indicate composite origin; *e.g.* vss. 6–10\* = P means that vss. 6–10 are P in the main + admixture of other material.
- ? after numbers or specified sections indicates uncertainty, or difference of opinion, as to classification or chronological place given them.
- ( ) enclosing a vs. or section, *occasionally* used in this vol. with practically the same meaning as the preceding sign. *Usually* it is employed in the common signification of inclusion.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT  
CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED



# AN INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

## THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS

THE following facts relating to the historical books of the Old Testament need to be considered as preliminary to the study of the historical material belonging to each period.

### 1. THE TWO-FOLD HISTORICAL SERIES

The historical books naturally fall into a two-fold division: the first including Genesis to Second Kings (excluding Ruth<sup>1</sup>); the second, First and Second Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The first covers the time from the Creation to the year 562 or 561 B.C., i.e. the year of the release of King Jehoiachin from captivity (cf. Gen. 1:1 with 2 Ki. 25:27). The second extends from Adam (= the Creation) to Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C. (cf. 1 Chr. 1:1 with Neh. 13:6).<sup>2</sup>

Up to the time of David we have to depend almost entirely upon the first series for our history. From David to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. the two series are parallel, though the second practically disregards the Northern Kingdom. The history from that date forward,

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish order and classification of the Old Testament books differ from those found in the English Bible. They were grouped in three divisions, viz. the *Law*, i.e. the Pentateuch; the *Prophets* (= Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, and the Major and Minor Prophets); and the *Hagiographa* or *Writings*, which included the remainder of the Old Testament books. The book of Ruth is found in the third division of the Hebrew Canon. Cf. also p. 249, n.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The genealogies in Chronicles bring the date down still later; cf. pp. 66 f.

so far as it is recorded, is found only in the second series, viz. in Ezra and Nehemiah.

## 2. THE COMPOSITION OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The historical books of the Old Testament in their present form show clearly that they have been derived from previous sources. Thus in 2 Samuel 1:19-26 David's lament for Saul and Jonathan is introduced with the words (vs. 18b), "behold it is written in the book of Jashar," that is, this elegy of David was derived by the writer or editor of Samuel from an anthology of poetry called the "Book of Jashar" (cf. Josh. 10:12 f.).

The same fact is much more apparent in such books as Kings and Chronicles, where reference is frequently made to other works, which have been drawn upon for material in the composition of the present books. Thus in Kings such sources are mentioned as "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (17 times), and "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (15 times); cf. 1 Ki. 14:19, 29, etc. In Chronicles the references to other authorities are more numerous; cf. 1 Chr. 23:27 (R. V. marg.); 27:24; 29:29. 2 Chr. 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 16:11; 20:34; 24:27, etc.

But in addition to such sources as these which are named, the modern study of the Old Testament has discovered the presence of other unnamed writings, which were likewise used in the formation of our canonical, historical books, — such writings or sources being distinguished largely by language, style and point of view.

In the employment then of previously existing records the Old Testament histories resemble the methods of modern historical composition.

When we inquire further how these sources were used, we find that the method of the Biblical historian differed from that of the modern historian, for instead of re-writing and expressing in his own language the facts derived from the various authorities consulted, he to a large extent copied or excerpted his material without rewriting it.<sup>1</sup> It is this fact

<sup>1</sup> This is also characteristic of other Eastern histories; cf. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, p. 328. *Camb. Theo. Essays* (1905), 12 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 3. etc.

which makes it possible to separate different sources where they are not named. To the portions thus incorporated chronological data or religious comments were frequently added by the compiler. This is well illustrated in many chapters of Kings; *e.g.* in 1 Ki. 15 the historical facts derived from the sources referred to above (cf. vss. 7, 23, 31) are found in vss. 6, 7b, 12-13, 15, 16-22, 27-28; the remainder of the chapter being editorial addition of the character mentioned.

In other places little if any comment is added; *e.g.* in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, extending at frequent intervals from 1 Ki. 17 to 2 Ki. 13, which seem clearly to have been derived from a distinct source, or more than one source.

Again where two or more sources covered the same ground any one of three methods might be adopted in the new historical presentation of that period. (a) Sometimes one account was adopted to the exclusion of the others; (b) more often portions were drawn from the two or three parallel accounts of the same event and fitted together; (c) less frequently two accounts of the same occurrence were largely incorporated, with such adjustments or additions as were deemed necessary to form a unity. The work of the final historian (or editor) in such cases was largely that of compilation and arrangement of material in hand; — often only little was done by him in the way of actual authorship. These three methods are especially illustrated in the Pentateuch and Joshua.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HISTORICAL LITERATURE

A. Hebrew history is much more than a mere narration of historical or biographical details. It furnishes these to a considerable extent, it is true, but its main end was to enforce moral and religious lessons through the agency of the various forms and kinds of literary material utilized. In accordance with the degree in which this aim was made prominent the Old Testament historical writings may be divided for convenience into two main classes: —

<sup>1</sup> See quotation from Ryle, p. 25 n.<sup>3</sup>, giving his summary of the different methods used in the process of historical compilation.

*a. Narrative or descriptive history*, which as the name implies simply narrates occurrences and describes events more or less in detail, which are considered worthy of preservation for their intrinsic interest or historical value. While this type of history, as employed in the Old Testament, illustrates moral and spiritual truth, this aim is not made prominent nor is the didactic lesson generally explicitly stated, the story instead being "left to point its own moral." For this reason from the present-day standpoint the teaching legitimately conveyed by it is all the more real and convincing. The classical example of this form of history is found in the account of David's family and court life [2 Sam. 9-20 + 2 Ki. 1 f. (in part)]. This type of history generally prevails in that class of historical writings which for convenience is termed Prophetic [cf. below *B. (a).*].

*b. Didactic or pragmatic history*. In this type of history the literary material, such as stories or historical data, is employed to illustrate more distinctly moral and spiritual principles, which are clearly stated. The historian of this school did not consider it sufficient to let the story or history make its own didactic impression, however suggestive in religious truth it might be; he sought rather to emphasize by definite statement the great principles illustrated by the specific event described or by the period under review. This method began with the eighth century prophets as they found in the events of history evidences of God's overruling providence. To them the events of history had a moral significance; *e.g.* the world-powers were agents in Jehovah's hands for the punishment of national sin (cf. Isa. 10:5 ff.); and as they looked into the past and reviewed it they sought to illustrate its religious significance by the events recorded. A good illustration of this kind of history is found in the story of Saul's rejection by Samuel (1 Sam. 15), where the details are used to enforce the great religious lesson in which the interest of the narrative culminates, viz. the supreme duty of implicit obedience to Jehovah (vss. 22 f.).

This historical method is seen in its most highly developed form in the Deuteronomic school of historians [cf. below *B. (c).*], and also the lessons set forth in the books of Judges and Kings by the Deuteronomic compilers, pp. 45 f., 55 f.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further in Cen. B., Kennedy, Sam. 9 ff.; Skinner, Ki. 14 ff.; also EBi, ii. 2079 (Moore).

**B.** This fundamental religious aim and interest of Old Testament history may be classified also from the standpoint of the different religious ideals or principles, which were emphasized by different religious classes or schools of thought. Thus (a) the teaching of one school of writers was fundamentally in line with the great ethical and spiritual principles which found expression in the prophets of the eighth century (Amos, Isaiah, etc.) and following, and hence may appropriately be termed Prophetic; (b) another evinced a marked interest in matters relating to the priesthood and the religious institutions of the nation; (c) still another wrote from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic Code (prophetic-priestly = a mediating school between the prophetic and priestly points of view), and naturally their emphasis, even when reviewing the same historical situations, differed more or less.<sup>1</sup>

One can readily see in reading the books of Chronicles what the religious standpoint and fundamental interest of this writer or school were, viz. those of the priesthood and religious institutions of the nation.

Cf. for example the account of bringing up the Ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15) with 2 Sam. 6:11 ff., and note the evident priestly interest of the Chronicler. (Cf. also vss. 12 f., = the cause of Jehovah's anger, with 2 Sam. 6:6 ff.)

Another good illustration is a comparison of 2 Chr. 23 with 2 Ki. 11:4 ff. Notice here especially that the Levites and priests in Chronicles (vss. 4 ff.) take the place of the Carites, etc. (= the military bodyguard) of 2 Ki. 11:4 ff.

Again in reading the history of the Divided Kingdom as given in the books of Kings (1 Ki. 12 ff.), in the comments upon the different reigns one can readily perceive that the point of view from which they are judged is the Deuteronomic Code. The same standpoint is also very apparent in many other portions of these books.

This is seen in the frequent employment of Deuteronomic phraseology; e.g. "do (or "did") that which was evil (or "right")

<sup>1</sup> The order stated here is not the chronological one, as the Deuteronomic school of historians preceded the priestly. It seems best at this point for clearness of impression to adopt the order as above.



in the sight of Jehovah," 1 Ki. 14:8, 22; 15:5, 11, 26, 34; cf. Deut. 4:25; 12:25, etc.<sup>1</sup>

But more especially is it to be noticed that the judgments expressed are based upon the provisions and spirit of the Deuteronomic Code; e.g. 1 Ki. 11:9, 13, 34, 38; 14:7-11, etc.; cf. with Deut. 4:2, 40; 5:29, and throughout the book. The disapproval of the "high places" of the Southern Kingdom, and the condemnation of the shrines of the Northern Kingdom are based on the Deuteronomic enactment relating to the central sanctuary; e.g. 1 Ki. 14:7 ff.; 15:14, etc.; cf. Deut. 12:1-28. Cf. also the summary 2 Ki. 17:7-23 with Deut. 12:1 ff., 29-32; 16:21 f.; 17:2-7. Cf. also 2 Ki. 14:6 with Deut. 24:16. See further, pp. 55 f.

In reading such books as Genesis or Samuel, on the other hand, the stories are found to illustrate largely the points of view which ultimately found higher expression in Israel's great prophets.

It will thus be seen that there is a remarkable variety and inclusiveness in the religious spirit illustrated in the Old Testament history. This was natural and legitimate, each school furnishing its own special contribution to the moral and religious value of this group of writings. The general principle may be laid down, that the question of sources in the historical composition of the Old Testament is to a considerable extent a matter of religious point of view or interpretation<sup>2</sup>; such points of view corresponding, as already stated, to different schools of thought, and it may be added in large measure marking different stages and periods in the change and progress of religious conceptions in the Old Testament. The sequence of *prophetic*, *Deuteronomic* and *priestly* interest and interpretation is the chronological one, though the didactic and Deuteronomic historians did not entirely supplant the earlier type of Prophetic narrators. In accordance with this order historical and biographical records, dating from the past, were retold or supplemented in such ways as were deemed necessary to give a clearer interpretation, or different spiritual lessons, or to emphasize cherished religious customs and institutions, from the standpoint of the particular writer or

<sup>1</sup> For lists of many other parallel phrases and expressions, see LOT, 200 ff.; HDB, ii. 859 f.

<sup>2</sup> This is of course a characterization "broadly true" and needs to be taken as such.

writers. Thus to the Prophetic type of stories, which are found in the book of Judges, which were written in the pre-exilic period, were added by a later historian (or editor) didactic lessons based on the language and spirit of the Deuteronomic Code (see pp. 45 ff.). In the same manner the Prophetic and Deuteronomic types of historical narratives of the pre-exilic Kingdoms, as found in the books of Samuel and Kings, while largely utilized, are given a different interpretation and emphasis in the late, Priestly books of Chronicles (cf. pp. 63 ff.).

#### 4. THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THIS NARRATIVE MATERIAL

A detailed, critical discussion of the historical value of debated sections of the Old Testament narratives does not belong to the province of this volume. Since, however, this is a question which is closely connected with the literary character and chronological problems of the historical records, as well as with the standpoint of religious interpretation from which they were written (cf. the statement above, 3. B. pp. 5 ff.), some discussion of it, as far as these aspects of it are concerned, is necessary. One of the all-important facts, which needs to be kept constantly in mind in estimating this group of writings, has already been discussed, viz. that the fundamental interest in the historical books is not after all history but religion. They are much more than annals or text books of history (though most valuable from this point of view). They are primarily books of moral and spiritual interpretation and illustration. What would best serve this end was apparently selected, whatever its strictly intrinsic historical value may have been.

With this prefatory statement in mind the two main lines of consideration referred to above will now be noticed.

a. The *first* is the strictly *historical or chronological one*. What is the relation of the various sources of the historical books to the characters and events they describe in point of chronology? Can these in all cases, whether from the standpoint of narrative or didactic history, or of Prophetic, Deuteronomic or Priestly history, be classified strictly as history? Not if we take as our definition of it, that which "reposes, however remotely, on contemporary witness to

the facts narrated,"<sup>1</sup> for while much of the historical material practically conforms to this test (*e.g.* 2 Sam. 9-20 = the narratives of David's family and court life; Neh. 1:1-7:73a = Nehemiah's Memoirs, etc.), on the other hand much more cannot truly meet it, especially the stories relating to the earlier periods; *i.e.* from Primitive Times to the end of the period of the Judges at least. From the chronological standpoint these narratives may be classed broadly as *traditional* material, *i.e.* stories the date of whose origin cannot be determined with certainty, which were handed down possibly by guilds of professional story tellers or singers, or else preserved in priestly or prophetic centres.

Those who discuss this subject more in detail, and especially those who seek to determine the origin and significance of these early stories, are wont to make more scientific distinctions in this material. Thus such terms as "myth" and "legend" are employed, especially in reference to the stories of Genesis. A myth strictly is a story which relates to the gods, having its origin in the influence upon the primitive mind of the phenomena of nature and the attempt to account for them; while a legend "attaches itself to the personages and movements of real history."<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the statement that "the myth is the parable of the world's childhood" containing no "fact"; while "legend, on the other hand, does contain 'facts' . . . but fact so modified and colored by thought that it is always difficult, and not seldom impossible, to recover just what really happened. It thus belongs to a later stage in human development."<sup>3</sup>

It is maintained that the O. Test. contains no myth of Hebrew origin (*i.e.* Jehovah myth), but Gen. 1-11 is made up of stories of which some, as the accounts of Creation (chaps. 1-2) and that of the Deluge (6:9-9:17), had their origin certainly in the Babylonian mythology, as is clearly shown by the external points of resemblance, when the Biblical and Babylonian forms of these narratives are compared.

This important fact, however, is to be noticed, that these early

<sup>1</sup> Ency. Brit., art. "History," p. 19, quoted in Gordon, Early Trad. Gen. 76. Cf. Skinner's definition, "history in the technical sense is an authentic record of actual events based on documents contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the facts narrated." Gen., p. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skinner, Gen. iii ff., viii ff.

<sup>3</sup> From Sprott, Inspir. and the O. T., quoted in Ryle, Gen. xxxii ff. Cf. also Schultz, O. T. Theol. i. pp. 18-31. Gordon, Early Trad. Gen. 76 ff. Kittel, Scient. Study O. T. 17 f., 257 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 5 f. Gunkel, Legends of Gen. Kirkpatrick, Div. Library, etc., n. C, 153 ff., etc.

traditions, which were ultimately derived from the Babylonian literature, were "born again" by the lofty, transforming power of the Hebrew religious endowment, and were largely stripped of the polytheistic and crass elements found in the Babylonian originals, and were made the vehicles of conveying profound religious truth to the Hebrews. Cf. the statement by Dr. G. P. Fisher that the first three chapters of Genesis "contain more moral and religious truth than all other books taken together, which have been written independently of the Bible."<sup>1</sup>

In this connection the fact cannot be too strongly emphasized that traditional history does not mean necessarily records destitute of historical value. Even in the case of the remote Patriarchal period few scholars to-day would regard the records of it (Gen. 12 ff.) as containing nothing of historic worth, while many careful students are convinced of the substantial credibility of the essential events recorded.<sup>2</sup>

b. The *second* consideration in estimating the historical value of the sources of the historical books is the *literary* one. Various types of literary expression, many of them common to the literature of all peoples, are found embodied in the historical writings of the Old Testament; *e.g.* fables (Judg. 9:8-15; 2 Ki. 14:9 ff.); parables (2 Sam. 12:1-6; 14:4-8; a type of literature frequently employed by the prophets for didactic purposes, cf. Isa. 5:1 ff.; Ezek. 15-17; 23, etc.); idyls (the book of Ruth); law in narrative form (Num. 31); literary prediction in poetic form, in which by poetic license writers of later times described issues and events, realized in history in their day, in the poetic form of predictions of earlier times (Gen. 9:25-27; 25:23; 27:27-29, etc.).<sup>3</sup> Much of such forms of literature and other types found in the historical books, it is needless to say, does not belong to the domain of strict history.

Another literary element also has a very important bearing on this problem, viz. the tendency on the part of the Hebrew

<sup>1</sup>Fisher, *Nature and Method of Revel.* 31. Cf. also the Comms. of Bennett, Driver, Ryle, Skinner, etc., on Gen. 1-11. Ryle, *Early Narrs. Gen.* Mitchell, *World Before Abr.*, etc.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the able discussion of this topic in Driver, Gen. xliii ff. For a briefer and more guarded statement see Ryle, Gen. xxxix ff.

<sup>3</sup>Such poems should be carefully distinguished from those which relate to events of their day, *i.e.* of contemporary origin, such as the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5), David's lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:17 ff.), etc.

historian, in reviewing and describing an age remote from his day, to idealize it and to transfer the conditions and conceptions of his own age back into his delineation of the past. Thus in the many anecdotes and biographical tales, in which the historical books abound, especially those relating to the earlier periods of history, a considerable element of *idealization* is generally recognized as a part of their literary representation; *e.g.* the strikingly dramatic element in the development of the plot in the graphic Joseph stories (Gen. 37; 39 ff.). This holds true in descriptive history in many instances; *e.g.* the idealistic representation of Solomon's reign (1 Ki. 4:20-26; 10:27). As a part of this tendency are the later religious reviews of the past; *e.g.* the Deuteronomic treatment of the period of the Judges as a time of repeated apostasy, punishment, repentance and deliverance (cf. Judg. 3:7-11, etc.; see further under Judges, pp. 45 f.). In the books of Chronicles this literary method has a most striking illustration in the constant idealization of the past, and the representation of the past in terms of the religious standards and customs of late post-exilic times. See pp. 5, 63 ff.

The significant comment of that able and cautious scholar, the late Professor Davidson, in reference to Judges has a wider application to this literary characteristic as a whole in the Old Testament. "The question naturally arises, Is this frame, with its regular movement of apostasy, subjugation, penitence, and deliverance, many times repeated, strict history? Probably it is not. It is rather the religious philosophy of the history. It is a summary of the historical movements, written under the idea that Jehovah presided in the history of Israel; and to bring it down to our own level we must read second causes into the movements and the operations of the people's mind. The author speaks of Israel as an ideal unity, and attributes to this unity defections which no doubt characterized only fragments of the whole; for a falling away of a whole people to Baal, and then a conversion of it to Jehovah, to be followed by a similar falling away again, twenty or forty years after, is not after the manner of history, or in accordance with the operations of the human mind or heart." Cf. also this further statement from the same author: "Writers on Old Testament theology are feeling themselves constrained to say that the religious conceptions which appear in histories and narratives can be certainly held to be true expressions of belief only for the time at which the histories were written down,

and not for the remote periods which they may describe. The writers necessarily threw back their own modes of thought upon the earlier times of which they wrote.”<sup>1</sup>

From this summary of the question it will be seen that (a) the age of the sources as related to the times they describe, (b) the kinds of literature and (c) the literary characteristics of the Hebrew historians are important factors in the study of Old Testament history.

## 5. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION OF A PERIOD AND THE LITERATURE ORIGINATING IN IT

Attention has already been called in the Preface (p. ix) to the importance of differentiating between the narrative material *relating to* a period or reign, and the literary productions *which have their origin* in that period or reign. A clear distinction often has to be made between the two, for the former may belong to a date considerably later than the time it describes (*i.e.* not contemporary history), and this in turn may be employed by a still later historian as a basis or vehicle for illustrating certain great religious lessons. Such narratives in many respects may be less valuable really as a *first-hand source* of information for the time in question, than literary productions of a different character, such as poetry or prophecy, which are of contemporary origin.

For example, in the period of the Judges, the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5) is the only portion of literature of which it can be affirmed with certainty that it is of contemporary origin.<sup>2</sup> It is very valuable in furnishing first-hand information of the condition of Israel at that time. On the other hand, the narratives relating to this period, *i.e.* the stories concerning the various judges, were written at the earliest soon after the division of the Kingdom, 937 B.C., and by a number of scholars are dated considerably later; while the Deuteronomic editing of these records, incorporating the didactic lessons, is as late as the Exile.

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, O. T. Prophe. 31, 314, cf. also 62.

<sup>2</sup> For other literature which may possibly have had its origin in this period, cf. pp. 50 f. ii.; iii. f.; 54, iv.

Another illustration is found in the contemporary prophetic records of the eighth century B.C. These are more helpful in many instances for gaining a true insight into the life of that period than the historical narratives of the books of Kings, which relate to that century, and *much more valuable* than the still later representations given in the books of Chronicles.

These facts, together with those relating to the composition and general literary characteristics of the Old Testament historical books, to which attention has been called in the preceding pages, are important considerations in the chronological arrangement and interpretation of the Old Testament.

#### I-IV. A. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY- AND LITERATURE RELATING TO THE PRIMITIVE TIMES; THE PATRIARCHAL PERIOD; THE EXODUS AND DESERT WANDERINGS; AND THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE

The historical details relating to these periods are found in the first six books of the Old Testament, — that is the Pentateuch and Joshua.<sup>1</sup> The latter book, owing to the fact that its constituent parts are a continuation of the same sources found in the Pentateuch, is now usually classed with it, and the group of six books is termed the Hexateuch.

##### 1. THE SOURCES OF THE HEXATEUCH

Four sources contributed to the formation of the Hexateuch: a two-fold Prophetic narrative; a Priestly, and a Deuteronomic record, in each of which is included a legal code. These are distinguished by use of words, phraseology, points of view, and religious teaching and conceptions.<sup>2</sup>

a. One of the Prophetic narratives is called the *Jehovistic*, from the fact that up to Exodus 3:14 f. it is the only one of the documents that uses the divine name "Jehovah" (rendered "Lord", E. V.<sup>3</sup>). It is usually designated by the letter J.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To these books should be added Judg. 1:1-2:5. See pp. 41 ff., IV. B.

<sup>2</sup> The attention of the reader is called to the fact that the headings of the books of the Pentateuch in the English versions, in which the name of Moses is connected with them, are not a part of the original records. By the Jews each of these was known simply by the opening words of the Hebrew text. Thus Genesis was termed "*B'reshith*," the Hebrew for "In the beginning" (1:1); Exodus by the Hebrew for "*These are the words*" or more briefly by "Words" (1:1), etc. For the relation of Moses to the legal portions, cf. pp. 37 f., 129 f., 247.

<sup>3</sup> Two Hebrew divine names are translated alike as "Lord" in the E. V. In the American Standard edition, however, they are distinguished, one being rendered "Lord" and the other "Jehovah." It is the latter which characterizes this Prophetic source (J).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kent's designation for this group of narratives, viz. "The Judean Prophetic." His Beginnings, etc., 31.



The term Jahvist or Yahwist is very frequently employed to designate this source, based on the more correct spelling of the divine name, viz. Jahweh or Yahveh. As the form Jehovah, however, has an established position in English usage and is adopted throughout in the American Revised version of the O. T. it seems best to use the more familiar "Jehovistic" term in this volume. It should be noted that Wellhausen, followed by other scholars, applies the name "Jehovist" to the compiler who united J and E to form JE. (cf. p. 24 n.<sup>1</sup>).

It is characterized by a flowing style, vivid descriptions and picturesque details; *e.g.* Gen. 2:4-25; 3; 11:1-9; 18; 19, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The divine presence and manifestation to mankind are made prominent in striking anthropomorphic descriptions; *e.g.* Jehovah breathes in man (Gen. 2:7); walks in the garden (3:8); shuts the door of the ark (7:16b); removes the wheels from the chariots of the Egyptians (Ex. 14:25); cf. also Gen. 11:5 ff.; 18:22 ff., etc.

Similarly intense feeling and emotion are attributed to Jehovah (*e.g.* Gen. 6:6 f.; Ex. 4:14 f.; 32:14, etc.).

An interest in matters of an historical and national character is conspicuous (*e.g.* Gen. 4:1 ff.; 6:1-4); J's account of the Flood<sup>2</sup>; J's account of the Patriarchs, 12 ff.<sup>3</sup>; in contrast to the Priestly writers' special interest in matters of a theocratic and institutional character. Cf. below, c..

The early origin of the worship of Jehovah and its subsequent observance are carefully chronicled (*e.g.* Gen. 4:26; 8:20; 12:7 f.; 13:4, 18; 21:33; 26:25, etc.).

Note also J's special interest in the etymologies of names (*e.g.* Gen. 2:23; 3:20; 11:9; 16:14; 19:37 f., etc.).

b. The other Prophetic source is termed the *Elohistic* on account of its preference for the name Elohim (= the common Hebrew name for God) up to Ex. 3:15. Subsequently

<sup>1</sup> "In all languages, one writer is distinguished from another not so much by the peculiarity of the words which he employs (though of course when such peculiarity exists, it is a distinguishing mark) as by the manner in which he combines words common to himself and others . . . *preference and combination* are the distinguishing marks which differentiate one writer from another." Chapman, *Introd.* Pent. 55.

<sup>2</sup> For the J section of the Flood story, cf. p. 30, ii. b.

<sup>3</sup> For the J account of the Patriarchs, cf. pp. 30 ff.

in this narrative Jehovah is frequently used. This Prophetic source is usually denoted by the letter E.<sup>1</sup>

E, which is much more limited in quantity than J, does not really begin till Gen. 20.<sup>2</sup> It has many characteristics in common with the latter though it is narrower in scope, — no attempt being made, as in J, to connect Israel's early history with that of the world; cf. J in Gen. 2–11. It is also somewhat less pictorial and less anthropomorphic. God's revelations of Himself come through dreams and visions (*e.g.* Gen. 20:3, 6; 46:2, etc.), and by word from angels (Gen. 21:17; 22:11), who also lead and direct (Ex. 14:19a; 23:20, etc.).

Prominence is given to the prophetic gift and office (Gen. 20:7, 17; Ex. 15:20; Num. 11:24b–30; 12:1–13, etc.). The existence of idolatry among Israel's ancestors is recognized (Gen. 31:19; 35:2–4; Josh. 24:2). According to E the divine name Jehovah was not known to the Patriarchs (Ex. 3:13 ff.).

These two Prophetic documents, which, relatively to the other two sources of the Hexateuch, form a unit, will often in this volume be treated as such, especially after Ex. 3, being represented by the symbol JE.<sup>3</sup> They are termed Prophetic, because their standpoint, while not on the same lofty moral and spiritual plane as the prophets of the eighth century and following (*i.e.* Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc.), anticipates in many ways the teaching of these great religious leaders of Israel, having a clearly defined didactic purpose and message; — the moral and religious lessons being accentuated by the brilliant descriptive and pictorial setting. J especially is "the story teller and the dramatist of the Old Testament."<sup>4</sup>

These two sources together (JE) contain the much greater proportion of the historical records of the Hexateuch.

In addition to the characteristics of the sources mentioned above and in the following pages, each is marked by a preference

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent's name for these narratives, viz. "The Ephraimite Prophetic." Cf. his *Beginnings*, etc., 37 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, a few verses of E in Gen. 15; see p. 31, A. i. b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the statement, p. 33, A. i. a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 66 (§ 927). Note also Moore's suggestion of the term "Popular History" for the Prophetic stories (EBi, ii. 1670, n. 2; cf. 1673). See further Driver, Gen. xiv. W. R. Harper, Amos, etc., lxxii, n.\* Cf., however, Skinner, Gen. li f.

for certain words, phrases and constructions. Many of these can be readily recognized in the E. V.; others can be distinguished only in the Hebrew. Thus J and E, as already noticed, up to Ex. 3:15 prefer different divine names (see pp. 13-15). J prefers the terms Canaanite (Gen. 10:18; Num. 14:43, 45, etc.), Sinai (Ex. 19:11b, 18, 20; 34:2, 4), Israel as a personal name for Jacob after Gen. 35:22 (cf. Gen. 37:3, 13a; 43:6, 8, 11, etc.); E prefers the corresponding names, Amorite (Gen. 48:22; Josh. 24:8, 15, 18, etc.), Horeb or mountain of God (Ex. 3:1; 4:27, etc.), and Jacob throughout.

On the other hand, the words and phrases they possess in common, by which they are clearly separated from the other sources, especially the Priestly document = P, are much more in number; e.g. "and it came" (or "shall come") "to pass when" (Gen. 4:8 = J; 20:13 = E; etc.); "build an altar" (Gen. 8:20 = J; 22:9 = E; etc.); "in that (or "the same") day" or "night"; and "unto this day" (Gen. 15:18 = J; 26:24, 32 f. = J; 48:20 = E; etc.); "to ask" or "inquire" (Gen. 24:47, 57 = J; 40:7 = E) and over a hundred other words and expressions.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars are agreed that E belongs to the Northern Kingdom. This is shown by the interest which it manifests in the places and persons of the north: e.g. Bethel (Gen. 28:18 f.; 31:13; 35:1); Shechem (Gen. 35:4; Josh. 24:1, 32, etc.); the leadership of Reuben in the Joseph stories, cf. Judah in J below (Gen. 37:22, 29 f.; 42:37), etc.

While the evidence for the origin of J in the Southern Kingdom is not so conclusive, and there has not been the same unanimity of opinion among scholars as in the case of E, yet this is the view which is more commonly held and seems the more probable one. In its favor may be mentioned: (a) the improbability that another narrative, traversing practically the same ground, parallel in so many of its details, but at the same time having marked points of difference, should have had its origin also in the Northern Kingdom; (b) the prominence given in J to Abraham's connection with Hebron = in Judah (Gen. 13:18; 18:1 ff.); (c) the leading place occupied by Judah (not Reuben as in E, cf. above) in the Joseph stories (Gen. 37:26; 43:8; 44:16, 18 ff.); and (d) the presence in J of stories of special interest to Judah, which would not likely have been preserved in the Northern Kingdom (e.g. Gen. 38).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 117 f. HDB, ii. 145 (Ryle); 373a (Woods). Driver, Gen. xi ff., xvii ff. For a complete list see CHB, Hex. i. 185 ff., 192 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further LOT, 122 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 69 f., 72 (§§ 930 f., 933). HDB, ii. 145 (Ryle); 373b (Woods). CHB, Hex. i. 104 f., 116 f., etc.

c. A *third* source of the Hexateuch is the Priestly document, which is commonly marked by the letter P.

It is characterized by a more formal and less varied style than JE, what Professor Bennett terms "a schedule-style."<sup>1</sup> This is seen in the repetition of set phrases, *e.g.* "and there was evening and there was morning" (Gen. 1:5, 8, 13, etc.) "and it was good," "and it was so" (Gen. 1:7, 9, 10, 11, etc.); and descriptions alike in phraseology (*cf.* "the migration formula," Gen. 12:5; 31:18; 36:6 and 46:6; also *cf.* 23:19 with 25:9; 49:30 and 50:13). Further, this is illustrated in the stereotyped frameworks or settings employed; *e.g.* the genealogical outline in Gen. 5 (*cf.* vss. 3-5 with 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, etc.). There is a marked absence of the vivid and pictorial features of the JE descriptions.

The following are some of the words and expressions characteristic of P: "kind" (Gen. 1:11 f., 21, 24 f.; 6:20, etc.); "to be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1:22, 28; 8:17, etc.); "in the selfsame day" (Gen. 7:13; 17:23, 26, etc.); "after their (your) families" (Gen. 8:19; 10:5, 20, 31, etc.); "congregation" used of the Israelites (Ex. 12:3, 6, 19, 47; 16:1 f., 9 f., 22, etc.), and many others.<sup>2</sup>

This document also stands in sharp contrast to JE in the entire absence of all anthropomorphic conceptions, even in descriptions in which God is represented as appearing to man (*e.g.* Gen. 17; 35:9-13, etc.); nor is there any reference to dreams or angels as mediating agencies between God and man as in E. The divine transcendence is assumed: God speaks and His will is performed (Gen. 1). Physical implications in the accounts of God's communication with man are almost entirely lacking. Even at the great revelation of Himself at Sinai the divine glory is veiled in cloud (Ex. 24:15 f.; *cf.* Ex. 16:10; Num. 9:15 ff.). Up to the record of this revelation there is no reference in P to sacrifices or altars. The first sacrifice recorded in P is found in Lev. 8.

This document like E also prefers the divine name Elohim (= God) till Ex. 6:2. After that the name Jehovah is used

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 87.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the lists given in LOT, 131 ff.; Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 207 ff., *cf.* 54 ff., and other *Intros.* HDB, ii. 144; 369a. Driver, *Gen.* vii ff., xxii ff. and other *Comms.* For complete tabulation, *cf.* CHB, *Hex.* i. 208 ff.

uniformly. To the Patriarchs He was specially known by the name "God Almighty" (Ex. 6:3 f.; cf. Gen. 17:1; 35:11; 48:3, etc.).

The theocratic (or, according to some scholars, more strictly the "hierocratic")<sup>1</sup> side of Israel's life is emphasized by P in preference to the historical and political. This is seen in the prominence given to the covenant relation between God and man (*e.g.* Gen. 9:8 ff.; 17:1 ff.) and in the interest shown in the origin of the religious institutions and customs of Israel, as the Sabbath (Gen. 2:1-3) and circumcision (Gen. 17).<sup>2</sup>

Chronological data (*e.g.* Gen. 12:4b; cf. 16:16; 17:1, 24, etc.) and other numerical details (*e.g.* Gen. 6:15 f.; 7:20, etc.), as well as genealogies (*e.g.* Gen. 5; 10:1-7, 10-26; 25:12-18, etc.), are special features of this narrative.

Of the early history up to the revelation at Sinai only brief outlines are preserved by P.<sup>3</sup> After that the ritual and priesthood are the chief subjects dwelt upon. Where fuller narratives are given it is to emphasize matters of a legal or ritualistic character; *e.g.* Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23) and the institution of the Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12:1-20). Compare also the laws for the division of booty in narrative form (Num. 31)..

Probably P at one time contained a continuous narrative from Creation to the death of Joshua, though doubtless many parts of it were little more than mere outlines of facts.<sup>4</sup>

It is the view of many scholars now that P is made up of different strata, especially the legal portion of it (cf. p. 266, v. *a.*); but to some extent this also holds true of the historical narratives of this source, it is believed. The later (secondary) portions are variously designated as P<sup>2</sup> or P<sup>s</sup>. Cf. Cornill's symbol = P<sup>x</sup> (his *Introd.* 93 f.). Cf. also in reference to J, E and D, pp. 20 f.; 19; 193, 3. *c.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bacon, Ex. xli f. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 44.

<sup>2</sup> In P "Israel is not so much a nation as a church"; cf. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 411, 320.

<sup>3</sup> This can be seen by comparing Gen. 19:29 (P) with chap. 18 (J) and the remainder of chap. 19 (J), which contain the story of the destruction of Sodom and the escape of Lot. P gives the simple statement of the facts; J gives the detailed story. Cf. further the P subject-matter in Gen.-Ex. 18, pp. 30-35.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., however, the view in Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 46 f.

d. The *fourth* source of the Hexateuch is the Deuteronomic document, which is designated by the letter D.<sup>1</sup>

While few exceptional words characterize this source, the style is distinct and can readily be separated from P and JE. A fondness for special phrases, frequently repeated (which can easily be seen by following the sections belonging to D), and the oratorical form of the sentence are marked features.

The following are a few of the characteristic Deuteronomic phrases: "other gods" (Deut. 6:14; 7:4, etc.); "that your (thy) days may be long" (4:26, 40, etc.); "which I am commanding thee this day" (4:40; 6:6, etc.); "so shalt thou put away (= extirpate) the evil" (13:5; 17:7, etc.); "that it may be well with thee" (4:40; 5:16); "with all thy (your) heart and with all thy (your) soul" (4:29; 6:5, etc.), etc.<sup>2</sup>

An exalted spiritual conception of God (*e.g.* Deut. 4:12 ff.; cf. 6:4; 10:17, etc.); insistence upon obedience (*e.g.* 4:26, 40; 14:24, etc.); lofty motives for conduct inculcated (*e.g.* love, as in 6:5; 10:12, etc.); and emphasis upon the central sanctuary as a means of preserving the purity of worship and the holiness of the nation (cf. Deut. 12) are some of the points of teaching characteristic of this document.

Of the historical portion of the Hexateuch, besides the historical résumé given in Deut. 1-4, portions of Joshua belong to D. The D sections of Joshua (usually designated by the symbol D<sup>2</sup> or R<sup>D</sup>)<sup>3</sup> consist largely of *religious comments* on historical events and exhortations to obedience (*e.g.* Josh. 1:3-9, 12 ff.; chap. 23, etc.). The history under review is judged from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic legislation. The complete subjugation of the Canaanites by Joshua in obedience to the Mosaic commands is emphasized (Josh. 1:3-9; 3:7, 10; 4:14, etc.).

In the first four books of the Hexateuch D is found rarely if at all.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent's alternate designation "Late Prophetic"; his Beginnings, etc., 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the lists given in LOT, 99 ff.; Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 232 ff. and other *Intros.* HDB, i. 599b f.; ii. 367a. See full lists in Driver, *Deut.* lxxvii ff.; CHB, Hex. i. 200 ff. See also McNeile, *Deut.* 99 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The symbol D<sup>2</sup> (or R<sup>D</sup>) is given to such sections because they were written later than the original Deut. Code (D = Deut. 5-26 + 28), the standpoint and phraseology of which characterize them.

Some of the sections of the earlier books of the Hexateuch which have been supposed by different authorities to have the characteristics of D, at least in measure, are: Gen. 15:18-21; 18:19 (cf. Deut. 4:10; 6:7; 11:19, etc.); Gen. 26:5; Ex. 3:15; 12:25-27 (or 21-27); 13:3-16; 15:25b f.; 19:3b-5(6); 20:20-22; 22:21b-22, 24, 25b, 31; 23:23-25a, 27, 31b-33 (cf. Deut. 7); 34:10b-13, 15, 23 f.; Num. 21:33-35 (cf. Deut. 3:1-3) and others. Cf. also the Deuteronomic phrases in the expansions of the Decalogue Ex. 20, e.g. "Jehovah thy God" (vss. 2, 7, 10, 12); "love me and keep, etc." (vs. 6); and especially, "that thy days may be long, etc." (vs. 12).<sup>1</sup>

D's contribution to the historical part of the Hexateuch is the least in extent of all the sources.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. THE DATES OF THE DIFFERENT SOURCES OF THE HEXATEUCH

J and E are considered the oldest sources of the Hexateuch, the priority being generally attributed to J.

Their relative date is based, (a) on J's anthropomorphic conceptions which point to an earlier stage of revelation than that of E (see pp. 14 f.); (b) on the ethical ideas of E which show an advance upon those of J; e.g. explanatory statements in connection with questionable actions of the Patriarchs [cf. Gen. 20:3, 6, 12; 21:11 ff.; 31:6 ff., 24, 29, 42 (= all E) with respectively Gen. 12:12 ff., 18 f.; 16:5 ff.; 30:29-43 (= all J)]; (c) E's avoidance of the name Jehovah in Genesis (cf. Ex. 3:14 f.), and (d) the greater prominence given to the prophetic gift in E (cf. p. 15), which indicate a later stage of religious progress than J. This is the view of most scholars. Only a few at present defend the priority of E.

The approximate dates assigned to J and E by different scholars range from 900 to 750 B.C.

A further consideration bearing on the relative order of J and E needs to be noted. According to the view of most scholars J and E do not stand for individual writers, but represent a literary and religious movement, extending over a considerable period of time. Thus many critics distinguish different strata in these

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 94. HDB, ii. 367b (Woods). Cornill, Introd. 140 ff. CHB, Hex. i. 175, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For the discussion of the Deut. Code as a whole, see pp. 123 ff.

sources (earlier and later), designated by J<sup>1</sup> and J<sup>2</sup> (or J and J<sup>s</sup>), and E<sup>1</sup> and E<sup>2</sup> (or E and E<sup>s</sup>). On account of the influence of the 8th century prophets, which it is claimed can be traced in the more important of these additions, they are dated after the middle of that century: *e.g.* J<sup>2</sup> (J<sup>s</sup>) c. 750 (or 700)–650 B.C.; and E<sup>2</sup> (E<sup>s</sup>) c. 700–650 B.C. From this point of view, some of the J<sup>2</sup> (J<sup>s</sup>) portions are later than the main source E. The comment of Professor McFadyen summarizes excellently the situation: “the moment it is recognized that a long period elapsed before either document reached its present form, the question of priority becomes relatively unimportant.”<sup>1</sup>

The period to which J and E are assigned is determined partly (a) by historical references in Amos and Hosea to events recorded in them, which accordingly places them earlier than these prophecies.

The following are some of the historical allusions: Am. 1:11, cf. Gen. 27:40; 2:9 f., 9:7, cf. Num. 13:27 ff.; 4:11, cf. Gen. 19:24 f.; Hos. 9:10, cf. Num. 25:3; Hos. 12:4 f., cf. Gen. 25:26a, 32:25 ff.; Hos. 12:13, cf. Gen. 31:41, 27:43, 29:18 f. Similar phraseology may also be noticed, as in Hos. 1:10, cf. Gen. 22:17, 32:12; and Hos. 11:1 (“my son”), cf. Ex. 4:22; Hos. 2:17, cf. Ex. 23:13; Hos. 12:14, cf. Ex. 33:11, Num. 12:8, Josh. 14:6. A reference to the law of the debtor in Ex. 22:26 f. seems to be made in Am. 2:8. The existence of written laws apparently is implied in Hos. 8:12.

While it is possible that the historical allusions cited in Amos and Hosea may have been derived from oral tradition, “by far the simplest explanation of them is that which takes them to be quotations from writings already in existence.”<sup>2</sup> The religious presuppositions of these prophets also “point to a well-established background of usage and phraseology which is best explained on the supposition of recorded narrative familiar to the people whom they addressed.”<sup>3</sup>

The priority of J and E to Amos and Hosea is also partly determined (b) by the fact that the religious conceptions of these documents are less advanced than in these earliest of the written prophecies. On the other hand, the prophetic tone, though not so definitely marked as in Amos and Hosea,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McFadyen, *Introd.* 74. Note the view in Skinner, *Gen.* li f.

<sup>2</sup> Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 82; but cf. the more cautious conclusion in Ryle, *Gen.* xxiv f.; Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 35 f.

<sup>3</sup> CHB, *Hex.* i. 108. Cf. W. R. Harper, *Amos*, etc., lxxi, lxxviii f., etc.



in its highest expression resembles those prophets. E for example "in many points is on a level with" these great prophetic teachers.<sup>1</sup> Hence while J and E were probably completed before 750 B.C. (approximately the date of Amos), the length of time previous to this date may not have been very great. The suggestion has much to commend it that the writing of J and E was the outcome of the great religious awakening under Elijah and Elisha, c. 850 ff. B.C.<sup>2</sup>

As bearing on the date of these sources, cf. also the great interest of the people of the Northern Kingdom in the days of Amos-Hosea in their sacred places, *e.g.* Bethel, Gilgal and Beersheba (see references at end of paragraph), — shrines in which a like interest is manifested in JE. This implies an approximate nearness of date. On the other hand, that JE is earlier than these prophets is shown by the latter's strong condemnation of the worship as practiced there. Cf. Am. 3:14; 4:4; 5:5; 8:14; Hos. 4:15; 9:15; 12:11 with Gen. 12:8; 21:33; 22:19; 26:23 ff., 33; 28:10 ff., 19; Josh. 4:19 f.; 5:9, etc.

That J and E in their present form are later than the age of Moses is seen (a) by the fact that they carry the history of Israel down into the days of Joshua (cf. book of Josh., pp. 41 ff.) and possibly later (cf. pp. 46 f., 48, 57 f.); also (b) in the presupposition that Israel is in possession of Canaan (*e.g.* Gen. 12:6; 13:7). Note as well (c) the expression "in Israel" (Gen. 34:7, cf. Judg. 20:6, 10 and 2 Sam. 13:12); also "the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. 40:15); and notice the historical setting of Num. 32:41, cf. Judg. 10:4.<sup>3</sup>

Most scholars do not attempt to date J and E more definitely than within the limits of fifty or a hundred years. Thus Carpenter and Harford-Battersby's dates are: J = 850-750 B.C.; E = 800-750 B.C. Some, however, give more definite dates; *e.g.* Kittel for J = 830-800 B.C.; E = a few decades earlier. According to Kent J = c. 825 B.C. and E = c. 750 B.C. Cornill = J, c. 850 B.C.; E, c. 750 B.C. Gray = J, c. 900 B.C.; E, c. 750 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. R. Harper, Amos, etc., lxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bacon, Gen., etc., 60. Bacon, Ex. xxxii. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. i. 88 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. further, LOT, 124 f. CHB, Hex. i. 106 f. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 324 ff. See also Ryle, Gen. xiv ff. (including also refs. to P).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CHB, Hex. i. 107 f., 118 f. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. i. 86. Kent, Beginnings, etc., 36. Cornill, Introd. 79 f., 90 f. Gray, Introd. 44, 49. See also lists in LOT, 123. Harper, Amos, etc., lxxi, n.\*; lxxix, n.†.

The next historical source in point of time is the Deuteronomic. This did not appear till a date subsequent to the discovery of the Deuteronomic Code (embodied in our present book of Deuteronomy) in 621 B.C., the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (cf. 2 Ki. 22: 3 ff.).<sup>1</sup> These Deuteronomic (historical) portions of the Hexateuch are usually assigned, together with the Deuteronomic revision of Judges-Kings, to the Exile.<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 193, ii. 3. c.

The Exile was a fitting time for review and revision of past history on the part of Israel's religious teachers. The destruction of Jerusalem furnished the occasion for thoughtful interpretation of that past; and the Exile gave the leisure necessary. Kent assigns c. 550 B.C. as an approximate date for this work of revision.<sup>3</sup>

The latest of the sources was P. The historical material comprised in it, it is commonly agreed, had its origin in connection with the literary and religious movement in the priestly circles by which the Priestly legal code assumed practically its present form, *i.e.* between the time of Ezekiel, c. 570 B.C., and the work of Ezra, 458 B.C.<sup>4</sup> It may therefore be dated tentatively c. 500 B.C.

It is to be noted that the Exile gave the same literary impulse and opportunity to priestly writers as to prophetic (*i.e.* Deuteronomic, cf. above); and as there were historical reviews from the latter standpoint, so also were there from the former.

It may be added that the Priestly historical narratives have their basis in the JE material, especially in J. Note the greater prominence given in E than in J to the prophetic gift and office (see p. 15).<sup>5</sup>

### 3. THE PROCESS OF COMBINING THE DIFFERENT SOURCES

The first step in the process of combination doubtless was the uniting of the J and E narratives and codes. This was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the Deuteronomic Code, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the statement that this Deut. contribution (= R<sup>D</sup>) should strictly be "understood to refer less to an individual writer than to a stage of redactional activity." Cornill, *Introd.* 142.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 42. Cornill, *Introd.* 141 f., 540.

<sup>4</sup> Ezra's mission, according to a number of scholars, is placed as late as 397 B.C. If this date is taken, then the Priestly historical review of early times belongs c. 450-400 B.C. Cf. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 47. For discussion of date of P, cf. pp. 241 ff., 247 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 1671 (Moore). Gordon, *Early Trad.* Gen. 29, etc.

effected by using parts of each source to form a progressive and united account. J apparently was taken as the basis, perhaps because it was more complete.

In some places one document was used entirely [*e.g.* J = Gen. 24 and 38; E = Gen. 20; 21:6-31 and 40:1-41; also 41:29-42:37 (largely)], either from preference for the accounts adopted, or because they were lacking in the other source.

More frequently, however, portions were selected from the parallel narratives to form a resultant composite story (*e.g.* Gen. 28; 29).

The combination of J and E may represent the work of different persons, imbued with the same spirit, working from a similar standpoint, and extending over a considerable period of time. Possibly some additions embodying loftier spiritual conceptions may have been interwoven during this stage of compilation. The date of the completion of the union of J and E = JE was sometime before the discovery of the Deuteronomic Code in 621 B.C., and may be assigned approximately to 650 B.C. The compiler is generally designated by the symbol R<sup>JE</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

This conclusion as to the date of union of JE is based on references in Deuteronomy which apparently presuppose their combination (*e.g.* Deut. 26:5, cf. Gen. 46:3, Num. 20:15, Gen. 47:4, Ex. 1:9 (E and J). Deut. 26:6, cf. Num. 20:15, Ex. 1:12, 14 (E and J). Deut. 26:7, cf. Num. 20:16, Ex. 3:7, 9, Gen. 41:51 (E and J). Also Deut. 11:6, cf. Num. 16:1b, 12, 32a, Gen. 7:4, 23, Ex. 11:8 (J and E).

While this is the view of the majority of O. Test. scholars, some hold the opinion that J and E were not combined till a date subsequent to 621 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The next step in the compilation of the Hexateuch was the combination of JE and D = JED. This consisted in the incorporation of the Deuteronomic Code, together with comments on and interpretations of historical events from the

<sup>1</sup> This editor, it is believed, made J the basis of the compilation and hence is termed by Wellhausen a "Jehovist." It may be added that "the work of R<sup>JE</sup> and J<sup>2</sup>, where the latter stands for expansions of J, may be almost indistinguishable." Cf. Cornill, *Introd.* 137. Gray, *Introd.* 48 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further HDB, ii. 373b (Woods). CHB, Hex. i. 173 f., etc.

standpoint of this Code, — such being found in Joshua and in the historical review Deut. 1-4, as previously stated.<sup>1</sup>

This stage in the process of compilation belongs to the Exile, according to the conclusion of practically all Old Testament scholars. The compiler is designated as R<sup>D2</sup>.

The final stage of combination is represented by the union of JED with P = JEDP, *i.e.* the insertion in JED of the Priestly legal codes, found especially in Leviticus and Numbers, together with the Priestly historical material, which in general was of a brief character, as has already been noticed.<sup>3</sup>

It is supposed by some scholars that the uniting of the JED and P elements in Joshua was the work of a different compiler from that of the rest of the Hexateuch, and that possibly the latest hand in some portions at least is that of D<sup>2</sup> (R<sup>D</sup>).<sup>4</sup>

Probably few, if any, changes were made in the JED material in this process of unification. The genealogies and the chronological data of P served as a framework for the united documents.

The historical sketch of P is believed by many scholars to have been incorporated in its entirety, or at least largely, in this stage of combination. In some cases, however, the Prophetic stories seem to have been substituted (*e.g.* there is no account preserved in the P narrative of the birth of Esau and Jacob). In other places the Prophetic story may have been omitted (*cf.* the possibility of 2:4b-9 = J being a fragment of a longer account of Creation).<sup>5</sup>

The use of P as a framework is well illustrated in Genesis, the structure of which is marked by the ten genealogical divisions indicated by the recurring expression: "These are the generations of" (2:4a; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10; 11:27; 25:12; 25:19; 36:1, *cf.* vs. 9; 37:2).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> This movement included also a revision of Judges-Kings (*cf.* statement, p. 23). The influence of the Deut. spirit continued after the Exile, as is seen in the literary form of the confession in Neh. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 18. Note Ryle's summary of the different methods employed in the process of compilation: "Six, at least, may be recognized: *i.e.* (1) Verbatim extracts, (2) Abridgment and omission, (3) Duplication of narratives, (4) Conflation and combination, (5) Harmonizing, (6) Glosses." Ryle, *Gen.* xxx.

<sup>4</sup> See Bennett, *Introd.* 56 f., 79; his *Josh.* 44 f. HDB, ii. 783 f. (G. A. Smith). CHB, Hex. i. 178; ii. 315 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* Kent, *Beginnings, etc.*, 47. CHB, Hex. i. 176 f.

This final stage of compilation, or the compiler, is designated by R<sup>p</sup>. The date of the completion of the Hexateuch marked by this union is commonly put after the promulgation of the Priestly Law by Ezra in 444 B.C., and is assigned by many to the period 444-400 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Even after this date certain additions may have been made to the legal part of P (cf. p. 248) and also possibly to the narrative portion, *e.g.* Gen. 14 is considered by a number of scholars a story of such late origin (cf. p. 31, i. d.).<sup>2 3</sup>

#### 4. THE CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE NARRATIVE MATERIAL OF THE HEXATEUCH AS RELATED TO ITS SOURCES

The study of the sources of the Hexateuch has its chief bearing upon the different legal codes embodied in them, and

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent, concise summary of this process of compilation cf. Gray, *Introd.* 49 f.

<sup>2</sup> For recent attempts to discredit the critical analysis of the Hexateuch by advancing the claim that the LXX text does not substantiate the variations in the use of the divine names, which characterize the different sources (J, E, P), cf. Wiener, *Essays in Pent. Crit.*; also Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*. For discussion and answer to this contention see Ryle, *Gen.* lvi ff. LOT (latest ed.), pp. xxvi ff. (in *Addenda*). Skinner, *Gen.* xxxv ff.; and especially the masterly treatment in Skinner, *Divine Names*, etc. (= review espec. of Dahse's arguments). Cf. also reviews of Wiener's book in *Biblical World*, Aug. 1910 (pp. 137 ff.); and of Skinner's *Divine Names*, etc., in *American Journal of Theol.* July, 1915 (pp. 453 ff.), both reviews by the present writer.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. further on the sources, their dates and other matters connected with the introduction of the Hexateuch LOT, 116 ff., cf. 1 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 19 ff. Kautzsch, LOT (29 ff.), 35 ff., 43 ff.; 61 ff., 94, 106 ff., 226 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 3 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 27 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 13 ff. Moore, LOT, 29 ff. Chapman, *Introd.* Pent. HDB, i. 289 f. (Stewart); ii. 363 ff. (Woods); also arts. on different books of the Hex. in HDB (= Gen. by Ryle, ii. 143 ff.; Ex. and Num. by Harford-Battersby, i. 806 ff., iii. 567 ff.; Deut. by Ryle, i. 596 ff.; Josh. by G. A. Smith, ii. 779 ff.). EBi, ii. 2045 ff. (Cheyne and Wellhausen); 2075 ff. (Moore); also arts. on different books of the Hex. in EBi (= Gen. ii. 1669 ff.; Ex. ii. 1440 ff.; Num. iii. 3439 ff.; Deut. i. 1079 ff.; Josh. ii. 2600 ff., — all by Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on different books of the Hex. *e.g.* *Int. Crit.* (= Gen. by Skinner; Num. by Gray; Deut. by Driver); *West. C.* (= Gen. by Driver; Ex. by McNeile); *Camb. B.* (= Gen. by Ryle; Ex. by Driver; Num. by McNeile); *Cen. B.* (= Gen. and Ex. by Bennett; Lev.-Num. by Kennedy; Deut.-Josh. by Robinson). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 11 ff., 62 ff., 69 ff., 83 ff., 88 ff. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 3 ff., 31 ff. CHB, Hex. i. 1 ff.; ii. 303 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 59 ff., 62 ff. (§§ 920-934), cf. 35 ff., 39 f. (§§ 885 ff., 891 f.). W. R.

in an Introduction such as this, in which the chronological arrangement of the Biblical material is a special feature, the dates of the respective documents to which the Codes belong must be carefully determined. For these different legal codes not only accentuate the religious standpoints of the sources to which they belong, but they also naturally bear, to a greater or less extent, the impress of the periods in which they assumed their final form.

On the other hand, the historical and biographical material of the Hexateuch, in its present form, was arranged by the Biblical compilers to make a unified account with chronological sequence. Hence in the outline of Biblical material given in the periods covered by the Hexateuch the Biblical order will be followed in this volume irrespective of the dates of the different sources.

Since, however, in Old Testament history the emphasis is so largely on moral and religious interpretations of events, from the standpoints of different schools of thought, representing various dates, any chronological arrangement of the historical material of the Hexateuch must take that fact into consideration. Hence in connection with each of the subdivisions of the historical matter covered by the Hexateuch the sources are given (see pp. 30-44). Where recent scholars differ in their analyses of particular chapters or sections, that which seems the best established is given.

In assigning the different sources of the Hexateuch to their respective dates the reader is to be cautioned against inferring that *all the subject-matter* contained in them had its origin so late in Israel's history. Much undoubtedly goes back to ancient times, being transmitted orally, or possibly to some extent in writing.

In Oriental countries an instinctive conservatism prevails as seen in fixedness of customs and forms, which change but little from generation to generation. There is, therefore, a probability in favor of early narratives being handed down orally (by the professional story tellers), through the centuries without essential

Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, chaps. xi-xiii. W. R. Harper, Amos, etc. (Int. Crit.), lviii ff., lxix ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 11 ff., 35 ff., 52 ff., 210, 219, 400 ff. McFadyen, Hists. 5 ff., 239 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 22 ff., 30 f., 36 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 3 ff. Bacon, Gen., etc., 1 ff. Bacon, Ex. v ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 135 f., 147, 257 ff. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc. 70 ff., 99 ff., 255 (cf. 175 ff.), 293 ff.

variations. The changes that occurred in the stories in the course of transmission would be occasioned to a considerable extent (at least after the period of writing began) by (a) differences of location (*e.g.* the north and the south; see as illustration in the J and E material of Gen. 37 the place given to Judah and Reuben respectively); or (b) growing ethical and religious standards [*e.g.* differing standpoints of E and J (p. 20, section 2)].

Note that Professor Kent dates the origin of most of the stories of the first eight books of the Old Testament c. 1250-1050 B.C. Kautzsch holds substantially the same view.<sup>1</sup>

This same fact applies to the legal portions as well as to the historical sections.

In reference to the history recorded compare the words of Kittel on E and J: "In many cases it is demonstrable that E worked in accordance with sources that were ancient and, in part, very ancient. And further, where this cannot now be discerned, we may accept his descriptions as resting on older material, oral or written, except where there are conclusive reasons of a special kind to the contrary. . . . It is also intrinsically likely that . . . J had before him, in whole or in part, the sources from which E drew. . . . In many instances . . . there are clear indications that besides the stores of information accessible to E, J knew independently of other ancient and precious ones and embodied them in his work."<sup>2</sup>

For reference in pre-exilic prophetic writings to the existence of written laws, cf. Hos. 8:12, also 4:6 (see p. 21). "It is no doubt true that much of the sacrificial terminology may be of high antiquity. The instinct of established priesthoods is always in favor of perpetuating the ancient language endeared by tradi-

<sup>1</sup> "It is not possible to discriminate accurately between the modifications which a narrative would undergo through constant repetition, and changes deliberately made by responsible persons. On the whole, the balance of presumption seems to us to incline towards the hypothesis of professional oversight of some sort, *exercised from a very early time*. . . . As to the use of writing, it is natural to suppose that it came in first of all as an aid to the memory of the narrator, and that as a knowledge of literature extended the practice of oral recitation gradually died out, and left the written record in sole possession of the field. In this way we may imagine that books would be formed, which would be handed down from father to son, annotated, expanded, revised and copied; and so collections resembling our oldest pentateuchal documents might come into existence." Skinner, Gen. xxx. Cf. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 17. Kautzsch, LOT, 6 and his article "Relig. Isr." in HDB, extra vol. 634b f. See statement also by Gunkel in his *Legends of Gen.* 98 f.

<sup>2</sup> Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 95 f. (Note that this author considers E earlier than J.) Kittel, *Scient. Study O. T.* 157 ff.

tional usage. It may be assumed, therefore, that the phraseology of P was gradually formed on the basis of elements long current in the sacerdotal communities."<sup>1</sup>

## 5. THE POEMS OF THE HEXATEUCH

There is general agreement among Old Testament scholars at present, that the different poems and poetical fragments of the Hexateuch were incorporated by J and E from other sources; cf. Num. 21:14 f.; Josh. 10:12 f. These poems are supposed to represent the earliest portion of the Hexateuch to assume its final form.

It is the opinion of some scholars that the more important of the early stories had their first literary expression in poetry, and that their prose form represents a subsequent stage of development. That such a relationship existed in measure at later times is shown by comparing Judg. 4 (prose) with chap. 5 (poetry).<sup>2</sup>

In reference to the poems of the Hexateuch it may be noted that (a) some of them probably belong to dates soon after the events celebrated by them; (b) others in their present form have doubtless passed through different stages of expansion and modification from their original composition; while (c) still others seem more likely to have been composed at later dates to describe or celebrate what had transpired in earlier times.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CHB, Hex. i. 133, cf. 19. See also W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 303, 332, 344 f., 382 f. For the view that the Priestly laws are of early origin, cf. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. i. 102, 107 ff., 132.

<sup>2</sup> See further Kent, Beginnings, etc., 15 f. Ryle, Gen. xxxiv f. Cf. also Wade, O. T. Hist. 13 f.

<sup>3</sup> For the sources of these different poems and their relation to J and E, cf. the discussion in Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. i. 90 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 38 ff. (§§ 889 f., 894 ff.). Kautzsch, LOT, 1 ff. HDB, ii. 373b (Woods); EBi, ii. 2075 (Moore). CHB, Hex. i. chap. xiv (pp. 157 ff.). Ryle, Gen. xxxv. Cornill, Introd. 117 ff. G. A. Smith, Early Poet. Isr., 43 ff. Schmidt, Poets, 281 ff. Kent, Songs, etc., 11 ff., etc.



I-IV. B. THE CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF THE BIBLICAL MATERIAL (= THE HEXATEUCH, LARGELY), RELATING TO THE PERIODS FROM THE PRIMITIVE TIMES TO THE CONQUEST OF PALESTINE.

I. B. PRIMITIVE TIMES

i. *Narratives of this period.* Genesis 1-11.<sup>1</sup>

ii. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. These chapters are derived largely from the Prophetic narrative, J. See further below under *b* and *c*.

b. The following are the more important sections in Gen. 1-11, which are assigned by a number of recent scholars to a later stratum of J (= J<sup>2</sup> or J<sup>s</sup>; cf. pp. 20 f.); 2: 10-14 (15). 4: 1-16a, and the J version of the Flood [= 6: 5-8; 7: 1-5, 7-10, 12, 16b, 17b, 22 f. 8: 2b-3a ("and the rain . . . continually"), 6-12, 13b ("and Noah," etc.), 20-22]. Cf. Driver, Gen. 74. CHB, Hex. ii. pp. 3 f., 5 ff., 9 ff.; i. p. 108, etc.

c. P in chaps. 1-11 = 1: 1-2: 4a; 5: 1-28, 30-32; version of the Flood [= 6: 9-22; 7: 6, 11, 13-16a, 17a, 18-21, 24; 8: 1-2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19; 9: 1-17]; 9: 28 f.; 10: 1-7, 20, 22 f., 31 f.; 11: 10-27, 31 f.

d. The Song of Lamech, Gen. 4: 23 f., which has been incorporated by the Prophetic writer J, is considered by a number of scholars to be one of the oldest existing Hebrew poems. Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 38 f. (§ 889). Kautzsch, LOT, 3. Kent, Songs, etc., 51, etc.

e. The Blessing of Noah, Gen. 9: 25-27, is assigned by some scholars to a very early date, e.g. c. 1400 B.C., cf. Gordon, Poets, etc., 37 f. See discussion G. A. Smith, Early Poet. Isr. 46 ff.

II. B. PATRIARCHAL PERIOD. Genesis 12-50

A. *Narratives Relating to Abraham.* 12: 1-25 : 18

i. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. These chapters are derived largely from J. See further under *b*, *c* and *d*, below.

<sup>1</sup> For introductory notes on the different sources of the narrative material found in the Hexateuch (= periods of Primitive Times to Conquest

b. E is found especially in chaps. 20 and 21-22 (mostly); possibly also a few verses in chap. 15 (e.g. 1 f., 5).

c. P = 12:4b-5; 13:6 (or 6a), 11b-12a ("and they . . . Plain"); 16:1a (to "children"), 3, 15 f.; chap. 17; 19:29; 21:1b ("and Jehovah," etc.), 2b-5 (from "at the set," etc.); chap. 23; 25:7-11a, 12-17.

d. The origin of chap. 14 is uncertain. It has but few characteristics in common with the other sources, and is generally supposed not to have been derived from them. According to Driver (Gen. xvi) the date of the present form of the story is not earlier than the Exile. Many other scholars date it even later, classifying it "with P and the midrashic elements in Chronicles, rather than with the older Israelite historians" (Moore, EBi, ii. 1677).<sup>1</sup> See also ii. below. Cf. Comms. in loc. CHB, Hex. i. pp. 157 ff., 167 f., etc.

## ii. *Chronological notes.*

Two problems are involved in the relation of Gen. 14 to the chronology of the Patriarchal period. One is in reference to the identification of some at least of the kings mentioned in this chapter (vs. 1) with those whose names occur in the Babylonian records. Of these the most important is that of Amraphel, who is quite generally identified with Hammurabi of Babylonia. The date of this monarch has usually been placed somewhere between 2300 and 2200 B.C. Recent investigations have led scholars (e.g. King) to bring the date down to c. 1900 B.C. Granting this identification, the other problem relates to the historicity of the narrative. If it represents trustworthy tradition then it has a very important bearing on the date of Abraham. But on this point the views of scholars are greatly divided. Cf., on the one hand, Paton (who regards Abram and Abraham as two distinct persons), that this chapter must rest on some early documentary basis in view of its "surprisingly accurate knowledge of early Babylonian history" (Early Hist. Syria, etc., 35 f.). On the other hand, cf. Skinner who concludes that the improbabilities of the account "more than neutralize the impression of trustworthiness which the precise dates, numbers, and localities may at first produce" (Gen. 274). Cf. further Ap. C on Chronology, p. 338, a; also Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts. in loc.

of Palestine, pp. 30-44), cf. pp. 13 ff. For the meaning of the symbols employed on this and the following pages, J, E, etc., see in addition to preceding reference the list of Abbreviations, pp. xxxii f.

<sup>1</sup> For definition of "Midrash," cf. p. 66.

*B. Narratives Relating to Isaac and Jacob. Gen. 25:19-38:30.**i. Composition of the narratives.*

*a.* These chapters are largely a blending of the Prophetic sources, J and E = JE. See further under *b*, *c* and *d* below.

*b.* J is found especially in chaps. 26:1-33 (mostly); 27:1-45; 30 (mostly); 32-33 (mostly); Joseph's treatment by his brethren [= 37:2b-4, 12-18, 21, 25b-27 (from "and they lifted, etc."), 28b ("sold . . . silver"), 31-35]; chap. 38.

*c.* E is found especially in chaps. 31 (mostly); Joseph's treatment by his brethren [= 37:5-11, 19-20, 22-25a, 28a (to "pit"), 28c (from "And they") -30, 36].

*d.* P = 25:19 f., 26b; 26:34 f.; 27:46-28:9; 29:24, 28b-29; 31:18b; 33:18a; chap. 34 (in part); 35:6a (?), 9-13, 15, 22b-29; 36:1-30 (31-39?, or = J), 40-43; 37:1-2a (to "old" or "was").

*e.* With 26:6-22 (J), cf. 12:10-20 (J<sup>2</sup>) and chap. 20 (E).

*C. Narratives Relating to Joseph in Egypt. c. 1600 B.C. or c. 1375 ff. B.C. Gen. 39-50.<sup>1</sup>**i. Composition of the narratives.*

*a.* These chapters are largely derived from the Prophetic sources = JE. Cf. further under *b*, *c* and *d* below.

*b.* J is found especially in chaps. 39 (mostly); 43 (mostly); 44; 46:28-47; 31 (mostly, cf. P, under *d*, below); 50:1-11, 14.

*c.* E is found especially in chaps. 40-42 (mostly); 45 and 48 (mostly); 50:15-26.

*d.* P = 41:46; 46:6-27; 47:5, 6a, 7-11, 27b-28; 48:3-6 (7); 49:1a, 28b-33; 50:12 f.

*ii. Chronological notes.*

*a.* There is much uncertainty connected with dating these early events. This is due to the difficulty of determining the early Egyptian chronology, and also the lack of certainty in attempting to synchronize Biblical events with Egyptian history. Two views in reference to the time of Joseph's career in Egypt may be mentioned. (*a*) It is generally held that the Pharaoh of Joseph was one of the Hyksos. While there is difference of opinion regarding the length of their domination in Egypt [cf. 2098-1587 B.C. (Petrie); 1675-1575 B.C.?, (Breasted)], by many authorities its termination is placed c. 1600 B.C. (cf. however, c. 1750 B.C. = Brugsch, Budge). Some scholars (on the authority of George the Syncellus, c. 800 A.D.) identify this Pharaoh with

<sup>1</sup> For the Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:2-27, cf. especially pp. 72 f.; 83, v. *a*.

Apepa II, the last important Hyksos king. Hence Joseph's date = shortly before or about 1600 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy's date = c. 1900 B.C. for Joseph (HPM, iii. p. 433); cf. Hommel = c. 1700 B.C. (Hebr. Trad. 133). (b) Another view is that Amenophis IV (1383–1365 B.C. = Petrie; 1375–1358 B.C. = Breasted), who was Semitic in his religious sympathies, was the Pharaoh of Joseph. Note that one of the Biblical estimates of the length of time the Israelites were to be in Egypt is four generations = 100 to 150 years (Gen. 15:16, JE). 100–150 years + c. 1225 B.C. (if this is accepted as the approximate date of the Exodus, cf. p. 35, ii. a.), would harmonize practically with the reign of this Pharaoh. (Cf. Sayce, Higher Crit., etc., 222, 226. Kent, Heroes, etc., 150, etc.) See also Ap. C, pp. 338 f.

### III. B. NARRATIVES (AND LITERATURE) OF THE PERIOD OF THE EXODUS AND DESERT WANDERINGS = Exodus to Deuteronomy, in part. c. 1300 (?)–c. 1200 (?) B.C.

#### A. *Narratives of the Oppression of the Israelites and the Steps Leading to their Deliverance.* c. 1300–1225 (?) B.C. Exodus 1:1–12:36.<sup>2</sup>

##### i. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. These chapters are derived largely from the Prophetic sources = JE. Cf. further under b, c and d below. It is to be noted that the separation of the J and E sources from each other is more difficult in Exodus than in Genesis. Authorities frequently differ in their analyses of the J and E material.

b. J is found especially in 2:11–23a; 4:1–6:1 (mostly); 8–10 (mostly); 12:21–36 (mostly). See d below.

c. E is found especially in 1:15–20a, 21 f.; 2:1–10; 3 (mostly).<sup>3</sup>

d. P = 1:1–5, 7, 13 f.; 2:23b–25; 6:2–7:13; 7:19–20a, 21b–22; 8:5–7, 15b–19; 9:8–12; 11:9 f.; 12:1–20, 28.

e. With 6:2 ff. (P), cf. 3:13 ff. (E).

f. The section 6:2–27 + 6:28–7:13 (P) is not the sequel of 3:1–6:1 (JE), but is a parallel account of the call, commission and initial work of Moses. The point in the narrative reached at 7:13 is the same as that at 6:1.

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars, however, identify the Apepa mentioned in the tradition preserved by this Byzantine writer with Apepa I = also one of the Hyksos kings (15th dynasty); e.g. Ball, Light from East, 80; cf. also ref. Ryle, Gen. 469.

<sup>2</sup> For Ex. 12:1–20 as a part of the Priestly legal code (P), cf. p. 263, iv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Note Ex. 2:1–14 (E) and 2:15–23a (J) according to LOT, 22 (latest ed.).

g. The only plague which belongs exclusively to E is that of "darkness," viz. 10:21-23, 27.

h. For duplication of sources in chaps. 12-13, cf. below, B, i. e.

ii. *Chronological notes.*

a. While the same fact of uncertainty holds true in reference to the date of the Oppression, which was mentioned in connection with the date of Joseph (pp. 32 f., ii. a.), it is to be noticed that scholars generally identify Rameses II of the 19th dynasty with the Pharaoh of the Oppression. This identification is based largely on the discovery by Naville in 1883 of the site of ancient Pithom (Ex. 1:11) at Tel-el-Maskhuta, which from inscriptions found therein showed that it was founded by Rameses II. The dates of this king's reign of 67 years vary according to different authorities: e.g. 1300-1234 B.C. (Petrie); 1292-1225 B.C. (Breasted). Accordingly the Oppression may be dated c. 1300 ff. B.C. Note, however, the date c. 1580 B.C. for the beginning of the Oppression, McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 433. See also the dates given p. 35 under ii. a. Note Sayce's dates for Rameses II = 1348-1281 B.C. (cf. Early Hist. Hebrs. 148).

For the date c. 1200 (?) B.C. for the close of this period, cf. pp. 42 f., iv. a. See also Ap. C, pp. 340 ff.

B. *Narratives of the Exodus and the Journey to Sinai.* c. 1225 (?) B.C. Ex. 12:37-18:27<sup>1</sup>

i. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. These chapters are derived largely from the Prophetic sources = JE. Cf. further under b, c, d and e below.

b. J is found especially in 13:3-16.

c. E is found especially in chaps. 17-18 (mostly).

d. P = 12:37-13:2, 20 (except possibly 12:37b-39 = J or E); 14:1-4, 8 f., 15-18, 21\*, 22 f., 26-27a, 28a, 29; 16 (except possibly vss. 4 f., 25-30 = J or E); 17:1a.

e. In the section 12:1-13:16 the duplication of sources can be readily seen. Thus P = 12:1-13 (the Passover), 14-20 (Unleavened Bread); 28, 37a, 40-42, 51 (narrative); 43-50 (supplemental facts relating to the Passover); 13:1-2 (Firstborn). JE = 12:21-27 (the Passover); 29-36, 37b-38 (narrative, continuing 11:4-8); vs. 39 + 13:3-10 (Unleavened Bread); 13:11-16 (Firstborn). According to a number of scholars there is a large admixture of D<sup>2</sup> in the parts assigned to JE, cf. McNeile, Bennett, Driver, etc., in loc. See p. 20, first paragraph.

<sup>1</sup> For Ex. 12:43-50 + 13:1 f. as a part of the Priestly legal code, cf. p. 263, iv. 1.

f. With 16:9 ff., 13 (quails = P), cf. Num. 11:10 ff., 31 ff. (quails = J).

g. With 17:1b-7 (water from the rock = E largely), cf. Num. 20:2-13 (water from the rock = P largely).

ii. *Chronological notes.*

a. The date of the Exodus is involved in uncertainty as well as the dates of Joseph (pp. 32 f., ii. a.) and the Oppression (p. 34, ii. a.). (a) It is frequently assigned by scholars to the reign of Merneptah, the son and successor of Rameses II, whose dates = 1234-1214 B.C. (Petrie), or c. 1225-1215 B.C. (Breasted). Hence the Exodus, if in this reign, may be placed c. 1225 B.C. (b) Some think the time of weakness following the reign of Merneptah a more probable date; while (c) others assign it to the time of Rameses III of the 20th dynasty, — the latter part of his reign or immediately after [e.g. McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 203 f. (§§ 167 f.), iii. p. 32 (§ 879, n. 1), 434; but note that according to the chronology adopted by McCurdy the date = c. 1200 B.C.]. Some of the variant dates for this event are c. 1320 B.C. (Kautzsch, LOT, 168); c. 1300 B.C. (Cornill, Hist. Isr. 27 f., 41 ff.); c. 1277 B.C. (Sayce, Early Hist. Hebrs., 151); 1272 B.C. (Hommel, Hebr. Trad., 264 f.), etc. See also Ap. C, p. 340 f.<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that some scholars identify the invading people termed Habiri by the king of Jerusalem in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (14th cen. B.C.) with the Hebrews. This inference, together with a reference to Israel among conquered peoples of Palestine, in an inscription of Merneptah, has led some scholars to consider c. 1400-c. 1250 B.C. as the time within which the conquest of Palestine must have taken place (cf. Robinson, Deut., etc., 262 f., etc.). On the other hand, it is quite possible that only a part of the clans of Israel went to Egypt in the time of Joseph. Hence recent scholars, who date the Exodus in Merneptah's reign, are inclined to refer the "Israel" of his inscription to those Israelites whose ancestors never migrated to Egypt. [Cf. Driver, Ex. xxxix f.; Paton, Early Hist. Syria, etc., 134 f.; Journal Bib. Lit. vol. xxxii. pp. 27 ff. (Paton), etc.]

b. Moses' Song of Triumph, 15:1-18, incorporated by E or R<sup>JE</sup>, is generally considered either a poem of a later date or an expansion of an original Mosaic nucleus (= vss. 1b-3, or 1b-11, 18). Note (a) vss. 13b, 17b where the establishment of a sanctuary, possibly Solomon's temple, is described; and (b) the assumption, vss. 13 f., that Israel is in possession of Canaan, which point to a date as late as Solomon, c. 980 ff. B.C. Others assign the poem to an exilic or post-exilic date (cf. McNeile in loc. Cornill, Introd.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also dates given in Skinner, Gen. xv, n. \*.

118 f.). Cf. Kent, *Songs, etc.*, 51 f. = early part or middle of Persian period). Those who hold that much of the poem is Mosaic refer to (a) the primitive religious conceptions (cf. vs. 3, Jehovah as "a man of war"), and (b) the style of the Hebrew. [Cf. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 93, 96, 206 f., 225 f. G. A. Smith, *Early Poet. Isr.* 50 f. Driver formerly in LOT, 30, but cf. his more recent view = "not later than the early years of the Davidic dynasty"; see his *Ex.* 131; also LOT, 30 (latest ed.).]

c. It is to be noted that the events described in chaps. 16-18 are considered by a number of scholars to be chronologically misplaced, belonging later in the desert experiences. (Note that McFadyen places chap. 18 just before the departure from Sinai, i.e. after *Ex.* 33:11 or 34:9 or before *Num.* 10:29, cf. his *Hists.* 68; his *Introd.* 19, n. 1.)

### C. *Israel at Sinai (Horeb).* c. 1225 ff. (?) B.C.

i. *Narratives relating to Israel at Sinai* = *Ex.* 19-24; (25-31); 32-34; (35-40); (*Lev.* 8-9; 10:1-7, 16-20; 24:10-12); *Num.* 1-2; (3-4); 6:22-27; 7; (9); 10:1-10.<sup>1</sup>

#### ii. *Literary productions.*

a. The Little Book of the Covenant, *Ex.* 34:14, 17-26 (J).

b. The nucleus of the Book of the Covenant in *Ex.* 20:22-23:19 (or -33) (E).

c. The original form of the Decalogue in *Ex.* 20:2-17, cf. *Deut.* 5:6 ff.

#### iii. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. In this particular period the Priestly source supplies the largest part of the Biblical material, but a good share of P strictly belongs to the legal rather than the narrative part of the Code. Cf. n. <sup>1</sup> below.

b. J is found especially in *Ex.* 34:1-28 (in the main).

c. E is found especially in *Ex.* 20-23; 32 (to a considerable extent).

d. P = *Ex.* 19:1-2a; 24:15b-18a; 25:1-31:18a; 34:29-35; 35-40 and the sections in *Lev.* and *Num.* indicated above. The remainder of the material in Exodus = JE.

e. The duplication of sources in the JE material in *Ex.* 19-34 as related to the Code on which the Covenant was based is, in the main, as follows. J = 19:3b-9, 11b-13, 18, 20-25 + 34:1-28

<sup>1</sup> For *Ex.* 25-31, 35-40; also the sections of *Lev.* and *Num.* given above, as a part of the Priestly legal code, cf. pp. 263 f., iv. 1. It is to be noted that some of these sections of P are assigned by a number of scholars to the latest, supplementary stratum of P (=P<sup>2</sup>), espec. *Ex.* 30:1-31:11; chaps. 35-40 (?); *Lev.* 8; *Num.* 1-4 (?). See p. 266, v. a.

(= the "Little Book of the Covenant"; vss. 1b, 4b = R) + 24:1-2, 9-11. E = 20:22-23:33 (= "Book of the Covenant") + 24:3-8, 12-15a. The tradition that the Decalogue (Ex. 20, cf. Deut. 5:6 ff.) was the basis of the Covenant is first found in Deut. 4:13; 5:22. See further on these Codes under iv. below.

f. The Priestly Blessing, Num. 6:22-27, is generally regarded as a section of earlier origin incorporated by P. The exact date of it is uncertain.

iv. *Chronological notes, i.e. in reference to the legal material in the JE sections.*

a. The ten laws found in Ex. 34:14, 17-26 (J) are similar to others found in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:1 ff. // Deut. 5:6 ff.) and the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20:22-23:19, espec. 23:12, 14-19). The laws and regulations embodied in these verses are regarded by many scholars of the present day as representing the oldest form of the essentials of Jehovah worship, of which the parallel in the E document is found in the laws at the basis of the "Book of the Covenant" (e.g. 20:23a, 24a; 22:29-31; 23:12, 15-16a, 18, 19b). From this point of view, their logical position (and possibly their original one) is directly after 19:20-22, 25 (= J's introduction to the Covenant at Sinai). See above under iii, e.

Kent thinks that seven at least of these commandments "may well have come from the nomadic period of Israel's history and therefore from the great leader Moses," and that even the three others which imply agricultural conditions (vss. 21, 22 and 26a) may possibly be "later versions of commands originally applicable to the days of Moses" (cf. Lawgivers 24). Others, while recognizing the primitive character of these laws, date them as a whole subsequent to the Conquest of Palestine. Cf. Kent's more recent view that these laws "in their present form cannot be definitely dated earlier than the days of the united kingdom" (Isr. Laws and Precedents, 16 f., 21).

b. The "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20:22-23:19), the name of which is derived from Ex. 24:7, was incorporated in E, or possibly by R<sup>1b</sup> in JE. The general trend of opinion among O. T. scholars is that the laws of this Code *in their present form* are later than the age of Moses, i.e. date from the time Israel was in actual possession of Palestine. This view is based upon the fact that the different provisions and enactments are applicable to an agricultural and settled community rather than to a nomadic one, and hence presuppose that time in Israel's history.<sup>1</sup> Not unlikely it represents a development of laws from the time of Moses to c. 900 B.C. Cf. more definitely = Mosaic (McCurdy?, Kittel);

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, on this point Peritz, O. T. Hist. pp. 89 ff. (§§ 61, 63).



= laws of early monarchy (Cornill, W. R. Harper, W. R. Smith); c. 900 B.C. but incorporating usage as old as Solomon or older (H. P. Smith); reign of Ahab, 875-853 B.C. (Kautzsch).

Two elements are recognized in the "Book of the Covenant," viz. the "Words" (or "Commands"), and the "Judgments" (or "Ordinances," cf. 24:1, 3). The latter are hypothetical in form and are found especially in chaps. 21 f. According to some scholars, the "Judgments" sections formed originally an independent code of ancient "case law"; while the "Words" (= "Book of the Covenant" proper) related to worship (e.g. 20:22-26; 22:29-31; 23:10-19, together with the closing exhortation 23:20-33).

c. In comparing the form of the Decalogue given in Ex. 20 (E) with Deut. 5:6 ff. (which is represented as being a reproduction of the former, cf. Deut. 5:5, 22), it will be seen that they present considerable verbal variation, especially in the 4th, 5th and 10th commandments. The explanation, which has found general acceptance among scholars for these differences, is that originally these precepts were much shorter, expressing simply the command, e.g. "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image," etc., thus corresponding in form to those of the second table, "Thou shalt do no murder," etc. This leads to the conclusion that the *present forms* of the Decalogue, as found in Ex. and Deut. are later than the time of Moses. As regards the date of the original form of the Decalogue as a whole, a number of modern scholars assign it to a time much later than the age of Moses. This conclusion is based especially on the prohibition of images (Ex. 20:4; Deut. 5:8), which, it is claimed, shows the influence of the 8th cen. prophets. Cf. the recognition of images and other symbols as a part of religious custom down to the 8th cen. (Judg. 8:27; 18:30; 1 Sam. 19:13, 16; Hos. 3:4, etc.). Hence such dates as, not much later than 750 B.C. (e.g. Gray, W. R. Harper), or according to some the 7th cen. (e.g. Addis, Moore), or possibly later (cf. McNeile, Ex. in loc.). On the other hand, on account of their simplicity and primitive character many modern scholars accept the original form of the precepts as Mosaic. It is further maintained that the use of religious symbols was not universal in Israel. Cf. the fact that there is no reference to the use of images at the sanctuaries where the Ark was in the days of Eli, nor in the temple of Solomon. (See espec. Driver, Ex. 413 ff.; cf. also McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 41 (§ 892). Kent, Lawgivers, 24 f.; his Heroes, etc., 196. Kittel, Scient. Study O. T., 39 f. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 62 f., etc.)

For the relation of this code to the laws in Ex. 34, cf. above n. a.

*D. From Sinai (Horeb) to Canaan (Palestine), Including the Conquest of Moab and Bashan.* c. 1225 (?) to c. 1200 (?) B.C.

i. *Narratives relating to Israel from Sinai to Canaan.* = Num. 10:11-14:45; 15:32-36; 16:1-18:7; 20-27; 31-34; (35-36); Deut. 1:1-4:49; 9:7-10:11; 11:5-7; (27:1-8, 11-13; chaps. 29-30); 31; (32:1-43), 44-52; (33); 34.<sup>1</sup>

ii. *Literary productions possibly dating from this time.*

a. Num. 21:14b-15. Song of the Arnon.

b. Num. 21:17-18. Song of the Well.

c. Num. 21:27b-30 (?). Song of Triumph over Sihon (or Moab).

iii. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. In this period, in addition to the Prophetic and Priestly sources in the narratives, the Deuteronomic appears, though a number of scholars find traces of this source in the records of previous periods (cf. p. 20). Cf. further under *b, c, d* and *e* below.

b. J is found especially in Num. 10:29-36 (vs. 34 = P); 22:22-35a; 24 (mostly).

c. E is found especially in Num. 12 (vs. 16 = J); 21:12-30; 22:2-21, 35b-40 (mostly); 23 (mostly).

d. D<sup>2</sup> (or D) = Deut. 1:1-4:40 (1:3 = P); 4:41-43 (?), 44-49; 9:7-10:11; 11:5-7; 27:1-8, 11-13; 29-30; 31 (in part); 32:44-47; 34 (in part). Of these sections the vss. in chap. 27 and chaps. 29-30 belong more properly to the legal section of D.

e. P = Num. 10:11-28, 34. Account of spies [= 13:1-17a, 21 or 21b, 25-26a, 32a or 32; 14:1a, 2, 5-7, 10, 26-30, 34-38, 39a (?)];<sup>2</sup> 15:32-6. Account of Korah's rebellion [= 16:1a, 2b-7a (7b-11, 16 f.), 18-24, 27a, 32b, 35 (36-40), 41-50, chap. 17] 18:1-7; 20:1a, 2, 3b-4, 6-13, 22 (or 22b)-29; 21:4a, 10 f.; 22:1; 25:6-18; 26-27; 29-31; 32:1-38 (?); 33:50-34:29; 35; 36; Deut. 1:3; 32:48-52; 34:1a, 5b, 7-9.

Of these sections some more properly should be classified with the legal portion of P, e.g. Num. 15:32-36; 18:1-7; 27:1-11; 29-31; 35-36. See p. 264, iv. 1.

The remainder of the material undesignated in these narratives = JE.

f. It is to be noted that the narrative Num. 10:29-36 (J) joins directly with the story as found in Ex. 32:1-34:28 (JE).

<sup>1</sup> For the Song of Moses, Deut. 32:1-43, cf. pp. 183 f.; 193, ii. 3. b.; for the Blessing of Moses, Deut. 33, cf. pp. 131 f.; 141, ii. b.; for the Balaam poems in Num. 23-24, see p. 41, iv. c., and p. 83, v. c.

<sup>2</sup> According to a number of authorities Num. 14:32 f. (or at least vs. 33) belong also to P.

g. Cf. with the story of the quails Num. 11:10 ff., 31-35 (= largely J) the account in Ex. 16:9 ff., 13 (P).

h. Num. 13-14, the story of the spies, contain a duplication of accounts, each forming practically a complete story. Cf. above (n. e.) for the P material; the remaining vss. = JE.

i. Num. 16-17 contain a combination of two and possibly three accounts. In the parts of P (cf. above n. e.) not enclosed in the parentheses the story = Korah and others oppose Moses and Aaron in reference to restricting the priestly rights to the *tribe of Levi*. The parts enclosed in the parentheses (P<sup>s</sup>?) = fragments of an account of Korah and 250 Levites opposing the exclusive claims of the priestly prerogatives of *Aaron and his sons*. In the story found in the remaining vss. (largely J), Dathan and Abiram express their dissatisfaction with the leadership of Moses.

j. With Num. 20:2-13 (water from the rock = P largely), cf. Ex. 17:1b-7 (water from the rock = E largely).

k. Num. 32:1-38 is one of the difficult sections to analyze, though it is generally recognized as composite in character. Possibly the basis is JE, which was subsequently worked over by a priestly writer; cf. Josh. 22 and Judg. 20.

l. It is a question whether Deut. 1:1-4:40 belongs to the original book of Deut. or is somewhat later (= D<sup>2</sup>). The latter is the more common view, though Driver assigns only 3:14-17; 4:29-31 to D<sup>2</sup>.

The historical review contained in this section (cf. also the historical references in 9:7-10:11 and 11:5-7) is based upon JE sections in Ex. and Num. (or on those of E alone), not on P. It is the suggestion of some scholars that this section, at least chaps. 1-3, = the outgrowth of a like address found in the older code (E).

iv. *Chronological notes especially in reference to the poetical literature incorporated in the narratives.*

a. The two poetic fragments in Num. 10:35 f. bear the marks of great antiquity. They may possibly have been derived from the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (cf. below n. b.).

b. Num. 21 well illustrates the use made by the Prophetic documents of existing poems. The sources of such are rarely indicated, but vss. 14 f. are said to be derived from a book, "The Wars of Jehovah," which is commonly supposed to have been an anthology of patriotic poems. (Cf. also the "Book of Jashar" referred to in Josh. 10:12 f.; 2 Sam. 1:18.) Possibly the other poems of this chapter may have been taken from the same collection. On this point the opinion of scholars differs. The date of this compilation of poems ("The Wars of Jehovah") is uncertain. It is obviously later than the age of Moses. The time of

David and Solomon (*i.e.* c. 1020 (?) ff. B.C.) seems as probable a date as any suggested. Cf. Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts.

The two brief poems Num. 21:14b-15 and 17-18 may with considerable probability be assigned to the times to which they refer [McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 42 (§ 894)], though on this point the opinion of modern scholars differs. Cf. Comms. and Intros. in loc.

The longer poetic piece, Num. 21:27b-30 [referred to as being recited by those "that speak in proverbs" (vs. 27a) = possibly "reciters of traditional songs"], is of uncertain date. The view now usually held is that it is a composition of a later date than the age of Moses; *e.g.* the time of David (2 Sam. 8:2; cf. Gordon, Poets, etc., 35 f.); or, a more common opinion, that it refers to the conquest of Moab in the 9th century (= Omri's reign, 887-875 B.C.). Cf. Comms., Intros. in loc.

c. The date of the poems in Num. 23-24, in their present form, is now generally regarded by O. T. scholars as not being earlier than the time of David (c. 1020 (?) ff. B.C.). Cf. (a), 24:17-19, which might appropriately refer to his conquests; also (b), the condition of great national prosperity reflected in the poems. 24:20-24 = a later supplement to the other poems (cf. "Assyria," vs. 22, which points to a date as late as the 8th cen. at least).

d. Num. 32:39-42 is a fragment probably from J (vs. 40 = R). According to many scholars the events described in it belong chronologically in connection with the conquest of Western Palestine (cf. Judg. 1), or subsequent to it.

e. It is the suggestion of some scholars that before D was combined with JE (cf. pp. 24 f.) the "Book of the Covenant" may have occupied the place (in the order of arrangement), of the present book of Deuteronomy, and that at the time of the combination of JE and D (= JED) it was transferred to its present position. Cf. HDB, ii. 375a (Woods). Cornill, Introd. 63. Chapman, Introd. Pent. 143, etc.

#### IV. B. PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST OF WESTERN PALESTINE, c. 1200-c. 1190 (?) B.C.

i. *Narratives of the conquest of western Palestine* = Joshua + Judges 1:1-2:5.

ii. *Literature possibly to be assigned to this period.*

a. Josh. 10:12b-13a. Joshua's Command to the Sun and Moon.

iii. *Composition of the narratives.*

a. In Josh. 1-12 the main narrative is JE; P is found rarely. The JE material bears evidence of Deuteronomic expansions and

additions, designated D<sup>2</sup> or R<sup>P</sup>. Possibly some portions of JE have been re-written by D<sup>2</sup>. The task of separating J from E in these chapters is a very difficult one. It is the opinion of many scholars that whereas the groundwork of the Pentateuch is P that of Joshua, at least of chaps. 1-12, is JED.

In Josh. 13-24, especially in the sections recording the distribution of the territory, P is the leading source (though not improbably based upon JE material), thus forming the framework of the narrative as in the Pentateuch. The JE element is much less than in chaps. 1-12. The Deuteronomic passages in this section, especially chaps. 13-21, are few. Cf. further *b-e* below.

*b.* JE is found in Josh. 2 (mostly); 5-6 (mostly); 7 (vss. 1, 24\* = P); 8:1-29 (mostly); 9 (mostly); 10:1-24 (mostly); 15:14-19, 63; 16:1-3, 9 (?), 10; 17:1b-2, 8, 9b (?), 11-18; 19:9, 47, 49 f.; 24 (= E; vss. 11b, 13, 31 = D<sup>2</sup>); Judg. 1 (except R<sup>P</sup> vss., cf. below *n. d.*).

*c.* D<sup>2</sup> is found in Josh. 1 (mostly); 8:30-35; 10:28-43 (based on JE); 11 (vss. 1, 4-9 = JE); 12; 14:6-15; 21:43-45; 22:1-8; chap. 23.

*d.* P = Josh. (3:4; 4:10b, 13, 19?)<sup>1</sup>; 5:10-12; 6:23b; 7:1, 24\* ("and the silver . . . tent"); 9:15c ("and the princes, etc."), 17-21, 23b ("hewers . . . water"), 27a ("hewers . . . congregation"); 13:15-32 (33); 14:1-5; 15:1-13, 20-62; 16:4-8; 17:1a, 3-7, 9a + c, 10; 18:1, 11-28; 19:1-8, 10-46, 48, 51; 20 (vss. 4 f., 6\* = R<sup>P</sup>); 21:1-42; 22:9-34; Judg. 1:1a, 4, 8 f., 18; 2:1b-5a.

*e.* The remaining material unassigned = JED.

*f.* Josh. 19:49 f. = the JE conclusion of the account of the division of the land; vs. 51, the conclusion of P. 21:43-45 = that of D<sup>2</sup>.

*g.* The origin of Josh. 22:9-34 is somewhat uncertain, though generally assigned to the Priestly source on account of the phraseology. It is not improbable, however, that it is based on a JE narrative. Cf. Num. 32; Judg. 20.

#### iv. *Notes on chronology and order of the narratives, etc.*

*a.* The time of the conquest of Palestine is involved in the chronological problem of the Exodus. See discussion, p. 35, ii. *a.* Many scholars accept the date c. 1200 B.C. Some of the variant dates are c. 1170-1160 B.C. [McCurdy, HPM, i. p. 225 (§ 183); iii. p. 434]; or c. 1150 B.C. (Curtis, HDB, i. 399a). Cf. c. 1280 B.C. (Kautzsch, LOT, 168 f.).

If c. 1225 B.C. is taken as the date of the Exodus (p. 35, ii. *a.*), and c. 1200 B.C. as that of the conquest of Palestine, then the interven-

<sup>1</sup> According to LOT, 105 (latest ed.) in Josh. 4, P = vss. 13, 15-17, 19.

ing period of about 25 years does not correspond exactly to the Biblical estimate of 40 years for the desert wanderings [cf. Num. 14:33 f. = P (or JE, P); 33:38 = P; Josh. 5:6 = D<sup>2</sup>]. But this is not a serious chronological difficulty as the number 40 is probably to be taken here, as in many other cases, as a round number; [see on this point, Ap. C, p. 334 (b)]. The length of time occupied in the Conquest is not certain. It is referred to as "a long time" (Josh. 11:18; cf. 23:1 = D<sup>2</sup>). (a) By some it is estimated as about 7 years on the basis of Josh. 14:7, 9 f. (D<sup>2</sup>); cf. Deut. 2:14. (b) Others consider that the Conquest was gradual, extending over a long period of time (e.g. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 86).

b. The "Book of Jashar," which is cited in Josh. 10:12 f., like the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num. 21:14, cf. pp. 40 f., iv. b.), is generally regarded as a collection of patriotic poems. The collection is evidently later than the time of David (cf. 2 Sam. 1:18). Possibly its date is in the reign of Solomon c. 980-940 (?) B.C., or soon after, c. 930 B.C. The poetical fragment, which is here quoted from it, is undoubtedly ancient, and if not contemporary with the event celebrated, at least it dates from a time "when the battle was still in fresh memory" (Schmidt, Poets, 353).

c. It is thought by some scholars that after the section on the conquest by Joseph (Judg. 1:22-29), some other disconnected fragments may have stood originally; e.g. Josh. 17:14-18; Num. 32:39, 41 f.; Josh. 13:13. With Judg. 1:34 f., perhaps Josh. 19:47 is to be joined. Driver suggests the following order: (Judah and Simeon) = Judg. 1:1 (from "and the children, etc."), 2 f., 5-7, 19, 21, 20a, 10a; Josh. 15:14 (to "Talmi"); Josh. 15:15-19 (= Judg. 1:11-15; cf. Josh. 14:13b, 15a\*); Judg. 1:16 f., 36; (Joseph) = Judg. 1:22-26, 27 f. (= Josh. 17:12 f.); Judg. 1:29 (= Josh. 16:10); Josh. 17:14-18; 13:13. (The other tribes) = Judg. 1:30-34; Josh. 19:47 (LXX); Judg. 1:35. Cf. further LOT, 163.

d. Various attempts have been made to adjust the two accounts of the Conquest contained in Josh. 1-11 and Judg. 1:1 ff. (and parallel passages in Josh.), so as to give the chronological sequence of events. According to some scholars (a) the J account of the Conquest (= Judg. 1:1 ff. and parallel sections) described simply the action of individual tribes, or small groups of tribes (of which these sections may give but a summary), and not that of Israel as a whole. (b) According to others the probable combination of the two accounts is as follows: (= in substance Kittel's view): Josh. 1-6 (united Israel); Judg. 1:1-21 (Judah and Simeon); Josh. 7:1-8:29 and Judg. 1:22-26 (northern tribes under Joshua; capture of Ai and Bethel); Josh. 8:30-10:27 (battle at Gibeon,

etc.). [Josh. 10:28-43 = D<sup>2</sup>; cf. Judg. 1:1-21 = J.] Josh. 11:1-9; Judg. 1:27-36 (with parallels in Josh.) = conquests in the north. [Josh. 11:10-23, D<sup>2</sup> = summary.] (c) Others hold the view that the tribes acted unitedly till after the battle of Beth-horon (Josh. 10), then Judah undertook the conquest of the south (Judg. 1:1 ff.); and Joshua and the northern tribes, the north (Josh. 11).

e. It may be further noted that owing to the fact that many of the events related in Judg. 1 are represented in the parallel sections as occurring in the lifetime of Joshua, and also that in Judg. 2:6 he is mentioned as being still alive, it is the consensus of opinion that Judg. 1 belongs chronologically before and not after his death. Hence the editorial heading (1:1a = R<sup>P</sup>), which connects the book of Judges with Joshua (referring to "after the death of Joshua"), applies not to this section, but to the main body of the book.

f. Scholars who interpret Gen. 34 as an attack on Shechem by the tribes, Simeon and Levi, assign the event to the time of the conquest of Palestine or the early period of the Judges. See further, p. 53, *B. iii. c.*

V. A. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE WHICH RELATE TO THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES<sup>1</sup>

The history and literature relating to this period are found in Judges 2:6-21:25; First Samuel, chapters 1-7, and in the book of Ruth.<sup>2</sup>

1. *The Book of Judges*. This book contains three clearly defined sections, viz. a general introduction, 1:1-2:5, which has already been considered (pp. 41 ff.); the history proper of the Judges, 2:6-16:31; and an appendix, chaps. 17-21, which contains stories connected with this period.

A careful reading of the main section (2:6-16:31) reveals the hand of a writer or writers, imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, whose work was essentially that of re-editing a previously existing history of the Judges, or rather stories relating to them. This older collection of narratives was fitted into a framework (with like-recurring phraseology, written from a standpoint quite distinct from the original history), from which were deduced moral and spiritual lessons, profounder and more applicable to the needs of this later period. These Deuteronomic sections, which do not supply the historical facts, but *the moral and spiritual interpretation of them*, can readily be distinguished by their phraseology, conceptions and spirit (cf. 2:11-23, to a considerable extent; 3:7-9, 11, 12-15a, 30b; 4:1-3, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

The great lessons introduced by the Deuteronomic writer or writers were (a) that Israel's apostasy was punished through invasion by different surrounding nations and subjection to their power; and that (b) repentance and seeking Jehovah's help were followed by deliverance being granted by Him, through the instrumentality of various "saviours," under whom the land

<sup>1</sup> For the literature having its origin in this period, cf. p. 50, ii, cf. also p. 54, iv.

<sup>2</sup> For introductory notes on Ruth and its historical setting, cf. pp. 249 ff.; 264, iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For the R<sup>D</sup> sections in Judges, see pp. 50 f., iii. b.



had peace and prosperity (cf. references above, 2:11 ff., etc.). Observe the framework as it appears in the similar phraseology of the opening and closing of each of these sections.

These sections are termed Deuteronomic, and the editor or editors the Deuteronomist, because the great lesson contained therein, viz. the value of obedience to Jehovah and the fatal consequences of disobedience (which are also favorite doctrines of the prophets of the eighth century and following), occupies so prominent a place in the book of Deuteronomy, especially in the opening and closing chapters 1-11 and 27-33 (*e.g.* 4:15-40; chap. 28; 29:10-28).<sup>1</sup>

The chronological scheme of the book is generally supposed to have been added by the Deuteronomist (R<sup>D</sup>).

The date of the Deuteronomic revision of the original stories must have been sometime after 621 B.C., the year of the discovery and promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code, and it may with probability be assigned to the early part of the Exile.<sup>2</sup> See p. 193, ii. 3. c.

The original material of this section (2:6-16:31), which supplies the graphic narratives, consists of the portions remaining after the Deuteronomic element is separated. It forms the large proportion of these chapters. From the clear and vivid character of the descriptions the date of these earlier narratives has been considered by some scholars to be not much later than the disruption of the Kingdom in 937 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

Others place it later, sometime during the period 850-700 B.C.; or in the first half of the seventh century.<sup>4</sup>

From evidences of duplication in some of the stories it is now commonly held that this main section, used by the Deuteronomist, was itself the product of two independent writers, whose narratives may not have been combined till about 650 B.C. These two sources have been regarded by many scholars as belonging to the same Prophetic series (J and E) to which the historical sections of the Hexateuch are so largely indebted. This view, however, has not been adopted by all scholars. The important point to be noted

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the different view of König in HDB, ii. 812b, 816b.

<sup>2</sup> According to some the date is c. 600 B.C. = Gray, *Introd.* 59, 61, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HPM, iii. p. 57 (§ 917). Kautzsch, LOT, 20 ff., 178, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Moore, *Judg.* xxiv. Bennett, *Introd.* 82. McFadyen, *Introd.* 81 f. Gray, *Introd.* 63 f., etc.

is that, whatever the origin of these early narratives may have been, their standpoint is prophetic.

Scholars who apply the symbols J and E to this material in Judges do not necessarily mean to identify the authors or compilers of these stories with those of the Prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch, but to indicate, in the words of Moore, "that they were written in general in the same age and surroundings, and in the same spirit."<sup>1</sup>

From (a) the absence of Deuteronomic traces in the appendix, chaps. 17-21, and from (b) the indications of affinities in some portions (e.g. in 20:1-21:14) with late Priestly writings, especially with the Chronicler, it is inferred that this section, originally Prophetic in character (JE?), was omitted in the Deuteronomic revision, and was restored by a late Priestly writer (R<sup>P</sup>).<sup>2</sup> To this same late editor (c. 400 B.C.) it is also believed that the book is indebted for the introductory section (1:1-2:5) and other portions in the main body of narratives, which were also omitted by the Deuteronomic reviser (R<sup>D</sup>). These portions are indicated in the notes in connection with the analysis of the Biblical material.<sup>3 4</sup>

2. *The Books of Samuel.* First and Second Samuel, which originally formed one book,<sup>5</sup> reveal the same processes of composition, though not to the same extent, as have been noticed above in the book of Judges. That is, these books

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2635. For a different view see König in HDB, ii. 811 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That the original stories were as late as the monarchy is shown by the allusions in 17:6; 18:1; 19:1; 21:25.

<sup>3</sup> For the main additions to Judges by R<sup>P</sup> cf. pp. 51, iii. c.; 52, ii. a.; also 267, v. k. Cf. also Cornill, *Introd.* 178 f., etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Judges, LOT, 160 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 82 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 156 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 21 f., 45, 94, 120, 234 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 76 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 93 f., 121 ff. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., 26 f., 300 ff. Kent, *United Kingd.* 49 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 58 ff. Moore, LOT, 79 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 1-22. HDB, ii. 807 ff. (König). EBi, ii. 2633 ff., cf. 2079 ff. (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Judg. espec. Int. Crit.* (Moore); Camb. B. (Cooke = in R. V.); Cen. B. (Thatcher). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 11 ff., 71, 90. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 57 f., 386 f. (§§ 917 f., 1361). H. P. Smith, O. T. *Hist.* 6 f., 87 ff. Wade, O. T. *Hist.* 9. Moore, *Judg.* (SBOT). Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 74 f. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 107 f., cf. 35, 93. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 68 ff., 97, 252 ff., 303.

<sup>5</sup> For the grouping of 1-2 Sam. with 1-2 Ki. in the LXX and their names, cf. p. 55, n. 4.

represent the re-editings of earlier Prophetic, historical material from the Deuteronomic and priestly standpoints, dating from exilic and post-exilic times respectively.

In reference to the Deuteronomic element, however, there is this difference that it is not so marked as in Judges. It consists of insertions relatively few, though not unimportant, in the older Prophetic narratives. This means that the Deuteronomic editors probably found the material contained in the books in practically its present form.

The additions from the Priestly source are few, being of an editorial character.

The main sources of Samuel are supposed by some scholars to be a part of the Prophetic (JE) series of the Hexateuch, but as in the case of the same theory in reference to the book of Judges, not all are agreed as to its probability.<sup>1</sup> On the fact that the material can very clearly be separated into earlier and later narratives, there is great unanimity of opinion, and to this extent the sources are indicated in the outline given of the Biblical material (pp. 53 f., 74 ff.). On the question of a further analysis of these two main divisions of the subject-matter into different sources there is considerable variation of view at present.<sup>2</sup>

Much of the older material, on account of its manifest accuracy, evidently belongs to a time soon after the events described, and so may be dated as early as the tenth century B.C.

Cf., for example, 2 Sam., chaps. 9-20, which are as fine a series of first-hand historical narratives as can be found in any literature.

The later stratum of narratives may be assigned approximately to the ninth or eighth century B.C. Note the unfavorable view of the monarchy (*e.g.* 1 Sam. 7, 12) with the similar judgment in Hosea (*e.g.* 13:11).

These ages are given approximately, as it is impossible to date any literary production exactly until after the middle of the eighth century B.C.

It is to be noted that such references in the older series of nar-

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, H. P. Smith, Sam. xxii. Kennedy, Sam. 119 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the analyses into different sources by Stenning in HDB, iv. 384b; of Kittel in Hist. Hebrs. ii. 22 ff., 43 ff.; Kautzsch, LOT, 21, 25 ff., 178 ff.; Kennedy, Sam. 14 ff., 25 ff., 32, etc.

ratives as, "Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day" (1 S. 27:6; cf. 30:25; 2 S. 6:8), may imply a time considerably later than the division of the Kingdom. Some scholars bring the dates, accordingly, of these two main groups of historical material down several centuries later than the time of their composition given above. Thus Kent, whose two main divisions are the "early Judean Saul and David narratives," and the "later Ephraimite Samuel narratives," assigns the first to the reign of Jehoshaphat, 876-851 B.C.; the second between c. 735 and 621 B.C. Cf. Gray's date for the older group = "as early as, or even considerably earlier than, c. 800 B.C." and the younger group "as late as, or later than, Hosea (c. 750-740 B.C.)."<sup>1</sup>

It thus will be seen that a large proportion of the historical narratives of the books of Samuel belongs to a relatively early date. It is generally agreed that the books existed practically in their present form (exclusive of the R<sup>p</sup> and R<sup>p</sup> additions), at least as early as 700 B.C. and possibly earlier.

It is to be noted that the narratives in 1 Sam. 1-7 alone relate to the period of the Judges. The remainder of the material belongs to the period of the United Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 10 f. Gray, *Introd.* 73.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of 1-2 Samuel, LOT, 172 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 89 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 180 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 21, 25 ff., 29, 40, 43 ff., 95 f., 120, 236 ff. HDB, iv. 282 ff. (Stenning). EBi, iv. 4274 ff. (Stade); cf. ii. 2079 ff. (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Sam.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (H. P. Smith); *Cen. B.* (Kennedy). McFadyen, *Introd.* 84 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 94 f., 139 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 66 ff. Moore, LOT, 90 ff. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 5 f., 10 ff., 51 ff. Kent, *United Kingd.* 101 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 22 ff. Wade, O. T. *Hist.* 9. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 71, 90. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 57 f., 73 f., 386 f. (§§ 919, 935, 1361). Cheyne, *Aids*, etc., 1-126. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 12 f., 89 f., 202. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 108 f., 34 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 47 ff., 205 ff., 255 f.

V. B. NARRATIVES AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED. c. 1190 (?)—c. 1050 or 1040 (?) B.C. = Judges 2:6–21:25; (Ruth?); 1 Samuel 1–7.

A. *The Period of the Judges Proper*

i. *Sources for the history of the Judges proper* = Judges 2:6–16:31.

ii. *Literary productions.*

a. The Song of Deborah, Judg. 5.

b. The Fable of Jotham, Judg. 9:8–20 (?).<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the historical sources and literary productions.*

a. As has been noticed in the introductory notes (pp. 46 f.) the main contents of these chapters are Prophetic narratives. The following are some of the more important sections considered by scholars to be the result of compilation:—

(a) The pre-Deuteronomic (= Prophetic) material found in 2:6–3:6. Note (a) 2:6–9 = Josh. 24:28–31; (b) 2:20–22 has a different subject from 2:11–19; (c) vs. 23 is not a strict chronological sequence of vss. 20–22. For the Deut. vss. in 2:6–3:6, cf. below, n. b.

(b) Chaps. 6–8 give evidence of compilation, though there is some difference of opinion as to the demarcation of the sources. Moore's division is as follows: J = 6:2–6 (in part), 11–24, 34; 7:1; 9–11, 13–15, 16–20 (pitchers and torches account), 21, 22b (in part); 8:4–21, 24–27a (substantially), 30–32. E = 6:2–6 (in part), 7–10, 25–32, 33, 36–40, 35a; 7:2–8, 16–20 (trumpet account), 22a, 22b (in part), 23 (?), 24 f.; 8:1–3, 22–23 (?), 29. The undefined vss. in the above analysis Moore considers editorial.<sup>2</sup>

(c) It is thought by some scholars that there is a duplication of stories in chap. 9, viz. vss. 22–25, 42–45 = one account; and vss. 26–41 = another.

b. The following is the Deuteronomic (R<sup>D</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>) element in these chaps.: 2:6–3:6 [in the main, espec. 2:7, 11 f., 14 (or 14b)–15, (16–17?), 18 f.; 3:5 f. (?)]; 3:7–11 (largely), 12–15a, 29 f.;

<sup>1</sup> For other literature which may have had its origin in this period, cf. p. 54, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moore, Judg. (Int. Crit.), 175 ff., 229.

4:1-3, 23 f.; 5:31c; 6:1, (2-6), 7-10 (?); 8:27b, 28 (or 28b), 33-35; 10:6-16 (incorporating older material), 17 f. (?); 13:1; 14:4b (?); 15:20; 16:31c. For variant analyses cf. Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts.

c. The following portions are considered to have been omitted by the Deuteronomic editor ( $R^D$ ) and restored later by the Priestly editor ( $R^P$ ), 3:31; 10:1-5; 12:8-15. The Song of Deborah, chap. 5 (cf. below, n. e) may have been inserted by this editor, who added vs. 1. For other vss. (editorial) attributed to  $R^P$  by different scholars, cf. p. 267, k; Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts.

No traces of the Deuteronomic editor are found in chap. 9. The lesson of the story, vss. 24, 56 f., is not that of  $R^D$  in 2:11 ff. The explanation generally given is that the story was omitted by  $R^D$  but was subsequently restored by  $R^P$ .

d. 11:12-28 is generally regarded by scholars as an editorial passage, possibly by  $R^{JE}$ ; though by some assigned to E. It will be noticed that (a) it forms a reply to Moabites (cf. vss. 17 f.) not the Ammonites (cf. vs. 13); cf. (b) reference to Chemosh, the national god of the Moabites (vs. 24); and (c) the list of Moabite cities (vss. 25 f.).

e. The Song of Deborah, Judg. 5, is almost universally admitted by scholars to be contemporary with the events celebrated. It may well have been composed by Deborah herself, though this view is not now so commonly held as formerly. It is frequently described as the oldest extant piece of Hebrew literature. Cf., however, the Song of Lamech, Gen. 4:23 f. (p. 30, ii. d.). From the absence of Deuteronomic traces, and on account of the presence of words and idioms apparently characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew, it has been inferred that this poem did not belong either to the original (Prophetic) book of Judges, or the later Deuteronomic revision, but was derived from some source, which we cannot now determine, and inserted by  $R^P$  (who probably added vs. 1), i.e. that the poem was revised and inserted by a late Priestly compiler. Possibly it may have been preserved in the collection either of "the Book of the Wars of Jehovah," or "the Book of Jashar" (cf. pp. 40 f., iv. b.; 43, iv. b.).

f. The Fable of Jotham, Judg. 9:8-20, belongs to his day, according to some authorities (cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 5, 169). Others consider the date uncertain, e.g. Duhm (EBi, iii, 3798).

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The chronology of the period of the Judges is involved in much uncertainty. The date of the beginning depends upon the time to which the conquest of Western Palestine is assigned, but as has already been noticed (pp. 42 f. iv. a.) this cannot be determined

with certainty. Assuming c. 1200–1190 B.C. as the date of the Conquest the length of the period of the Judges is equally conjectural. For while the book of Judges furnishes much chronological data, inserted by the Deuteronomist, scholars are practically agreed that it is impossible to construct an exact chronology from them. For reasons, see Ap. C, p. 343, *d*.

The termination of this period can be derived with more certainty. By working backward from well-established dates later on in Hebrew history, the death of Saul may be placed approximately c. 1020 B.C. or 1000 B.C., which would bring the judgeship of Samuel c. 1050 or 1040 B.C. McCurdy considers the length of this whole period not much over a century;<sup>1</sup> others assign from two to two and a half centuries to it.<sup>2</sup>

*b.* Some of the other dates assigned to events in this period by McCurdy are as follows: judgeship of Deborah and Barak, c. 1130 or 1120 B.C.; of Gideon, c. 1100 B.C.; of Jephthah, c. 1080 B.C. (HPM, iii. p. 434). Kautzsch dates the corresponding events earlier, viz. c. 1250; c. 1150; and c. 1120–1110 B.C. He assigns c. 1120 B.C. to the rule of Abimelech (his LOT, 169).

### *B. The Period of the Judges, Supplementary*

*i. Sources for the supplementary history of the Judges = Judg. 17–21. (Ruth ?)*

*ii. Composition of the historical sources.*

*a.* Chaps. 17–21, which form appendices to the book of Judges, are regarded as portions of the early (Prophetic) narratives, omitted by the Deuteronomist (R<sup>D</sup>) and afterwards re-edited in different degrees and restored by R<sup>P</sup>. Cf. p. 47. Note the form and spirit of the Priestly writers, especially the Chronicler, in the idealizing element introduced in 20:1–21:14. König (HDB, ii. 819*a*) limits this to the numbers (*e.g.* 20:17, etc.). The more common view is that it extends to the description of Israel's "spontaneous and united action" (cf. 20:1, 8, 11; 21:5, 10, 13, 16). See Comms., Intros., etc.

*b.* For evidences of possible compilation in these chapters, cf. Comms. and Intros.

*iii. Chronological notes.*

*a.* The events described in chaps. 17–18 are thought by many scholars to belong with probability to the early part of this period. The grounds of this conclusion are: (*a*) the historical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HPM, iii. pp. 32, n. 1, 45, 434 (§§ 879, n. 1; 898).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McFadyen, Introd. 79; Wade, O. T. Hist. 195 f.

point of view which is parallel to Josh. 19:47 and Judg. 1:34; (b) the age is that of the grandson of Moses, cf. 18:30, R. V.; and (c) the events of the chapters are presupposed in 5:17, though this point is disputed. Cf. also the position of chaps. 17-21 in Josephus, where the order following Judg. 1 is chaps. 18-21, 17-18; cf. Jos. Ant. v. ii. §§ 8-12 and iii. § 1.

b. The events at the basis of the narratives in chaps. 19-21 also are considered by many scholars to belong with probability to a date soon after the settlement in Western Palestine. This is seen by the fact that when Saul was elected king the tribe of Benjamin had evidently recovered from the punishment visited upon it, and its sin had long since been overlooked. (1 Sam. 9 ff.)

c. Scholars who consider that the story in Gen. 34 reflects a conflict between the tribes of Simeon and Levi, on the one side, and the Canaanites of Shechem, on the other, place it chronologically in the time of the conquest of Palestine, or in the early period of the Judges.<sup>1</sup>

d. While the form of the book of Ruth is now regarded by most scholars as late, it is possible that the leading details of the story were "current in tradition from quite early times." For this reason it may be included in this period as well as in the later time to which it strictly belongs.<sup>2</sup>

### C. *The Judgeship of Samuel.* c. 1050 ff. (or 1040 ff.) (?) B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of the judgeship of Samuel* = 1 Sam. 1-7.

ii. *Composition of the historical sources (and literature embodied).*

a. Earlier Prophetic narratives (E?) = 4:1b-7:1 (as a whole). This section, in which the fortunes of the Ark are the main theme, is considered by most scholars to have been written earlier than 1:1-4:1a; the fate of Eli's sons being connected with the fate of the Ark. 1:1-4:1a (as a whole) was prefixed by a later writer as an introduction, giving the previous history of Eli and facts connected with the early life and calling of Samuel, which explained his importance as a prophet. Cf. Comms. and Intros.

b. Later Prophetic narratives (E<sup>2</sup>?) = chaps. 1; 2:11-26, (27-36?); 3:1-10, (11-14), 15-4:1a; 7:2-17 (or = R<sup>D</sup>; cf. below, n. c.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Comms and Intros. in loc. Paton, Early Hist. Syria, etc., 151 f. Cornill, Hist. Isr. 46 f. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. 69 f., etc. Cf. contra, Kittel, Scient. Study O. T. 159 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, Beginnings, etc., 310 ff. Thatcher, Judg. 177. See also pp. 249 ff. of this vol.

<sup>3</sup> For the more detailed analysis of this section by Kautzsch, cf. p. 152, iv. e. (d).



c. The following sections belong to the Deuteronomic editor ( $R^D$ ) = 2:27-36 (or at least it is a Deut. expansion); 3:11-14 (?). 7:2-17 is considered by a number of scholars to be  $R^D$  as it contains the same descriptions of repentance and deliverance which are found in the Deut. sections in Judges (pp. 45 f.).

d. A number of minor verses are considered editorial, e.g. 6:15, 17-18a =  $R^P$ . For other editorial vss. cf. Comms. and Intros. See p. 267, v. k.

e. 2:1-10, though attributed to Hannah, is generally held by scholars to belong to a later date, for the following reasons: (a) the presumption that the monarchy is established, vs. 10; (b) the theme is national success rather than individual thanksgiving (vss. 4, 7 f., 10); and (c) affinities in language and style with late psalms. The song is supposed to have been inserted here by a compiler, who added vs. 1a, as a fitting poem to express the feelings of Hannah, probably on the basis of vs. 5. Its exact date is uncertain; some placing it in the days of the monarchy, others in the post-exilic period. See Comms. and Intros. Cf. also this vol., p. 265, iv. 6. e.

### iii. *Chronological notes.*

a. Authorities are quite generally agreed in dating the judgeship of Samuel approximately c. 1050 or 1040 B.C. This conclusion is reached by working backwards from the ascertained dates of later times. Cf. pp. 51 f., iv. a.

### iv. *Other literature possibly belonging to the period of the Judges.*

a. The Book of the Covenant [Ex. 20:22-23:19, (20-33); pp. 37 f., iv. b.], codified in this period according to some authorities.<sup>1</sup>

b. The Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:2-27, in part, according to some scholars.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 59 (§ 920). See, however, this vol., p. 84, v. g.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skinner, Gen. in loc. Gordon, Poets, etc., 40 f. Schmidt, Poets, 310, etc. See, however, this vol., pp. 72 f.; 83, v. a.

## VI. A. THE PERIOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

The history and literature relating to the period of the United Kingdom are found in 1 Samuel 8–2 Samuel 24; 1 Kings 1–11; 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 9. Literature originating in this period may include poems (*e.g.* Gen. 49, etc.) and collections of poems (*e.g.* the Book of Jashar, etc.),<sup>1</sup> possibly some psalms and proverbs also.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. HISTORICAL WRITINGS RELATING TO THIS PERIOD

#### A. 1 Samuel 8–2 Samuel 24.<sup>3</sup>

B. *The Books of Kings.* The books of Kings (which originally formed one undivided book<sup>4</sup>), were also derived from different sources, like the other historical books thus far considered (cf. pp. 13 ff., 45 ff.), giving evidence especially of the prophetic and Deuteronomic points of view and interests. The Priestly element is of very limited extent, consisting of occasional inserted (redactional) words, phrases or verses.

The hand of the Deuteronomic writers (R<sup>p</sup> and R<sup>p2</sup>) is much more marked, however, in Kings than in Judges and Samuel. In the last two books mentioned their office in both instances was to re-edit a work already compiled. In Kings, on the other hand, no such completed literary product existed. The Deuteronomic writer was the *actual composer*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 74, ii.; p. 76, ii.; p. 78, ii.; pp. 83 f., v. Cf. also pp. 79–81, ii.–iii. (Davidic psalms); p. 81, ii. (Solomonic proverbs, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. introductory notes, pp. 68 ff.; 116 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For notes on the structure and sources of the books of Samuel, and for 1 Sam. 1–7, see Period of the Judges, pp. 47 ff., 53 f.

<sup>4</sup> The division of Kings was made by the LXX, the two portions being designated, the third and fourth books of Kings or Kingdoms respectively (1 and 2 Samuel being known as 1 and 2 Kings or Kingdoms). The Vulg. and A. V. combine both titles; cf. A. V. titles of 1 and 2 Kings. This division of Kings was adopted in later times in the printed editions of Hebrew texts.

of large sections, deriving and compiling his history from different sources, much as the historian of to-day does, to which he added his characteristic moral and religious lessons.

While this statement holds true of the books as a whole, it is to be noted that there are certain exceptions, chief of which are the stories of Elijah and Elisha found in 1 Ki. 17-2 Ki. 13, which were incorporated by R<sup>D</sup> with practically no editing. The same is true to a less extent of the Prophetic tales of the Northern Kingdom [1 Ki. 20; 22:1-28, etc. See pp. 57 f., (d), (e)].

The characteristic religious feature introduced by R<sup>D</sup> is the judgment expressed upon each king in reference to his undivided loyalty to Jehovah (cf. on Solomon, 1 Ki. 11:1-4, 33 ff.). The basis of judgment especially emphasized is the king's attitude towards the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, which is one of the characteristic laws of the Deuteronomic Code, *e.g.* Deut. 12:1 ff. Hence worship at the "high places" in Judah is condemned (1 Ki. 14:22 f.; 15:14; 22:43, etc.), while worship at the shrines of the Northern Kingdom, which is regarded as schismatic, is unsparingly denounced (1 Ki. 12:28 ff.; 15:26; 16:2 ff.; 2 Ki. 17:7-18, 21-23, etc.).

The large amount of material which bears marks of this Deuteronomic, editorial shaping, in different parts of the books can easily be seen for instance by referring to 1 Ki. 15:9 ff. and vss. 23 ff., where the opening and closing formulæ of the reigns, as well as the religious estimates and judgments expressed are Deuteronomic. The work of the same writer is also found very often in the amplification and adaptation of the speeches included in his narrative (cf. 1 Ki. 8:12 ff.; 11:32 ff., etc.).

In general, in the distinctively Deuteronomic sections the history given is a mere epitome of events (cf. in 1 Ki. 15:9 ff., vss. 12 f., 16-22 illustrate this fact). This was because the compiler's interest was primarily moral and religious.

Some of the characteristic phrases of R<sup>D</sup> in Kings are: (a) to "keep the charge of Jehovah" (1 Ki. 2:3; cf. Deut. 11:1); (b) to "keep (or execute) his statutes, etc." (1 Ki. 2:3; 3:14, etc.; cf. Deut. 7:11; 17:18 ff.); (c) to "do that which is (or was) evil in the sight of Jehovah" (1 Ki. 11:6 and frequently; cf. Deut. 9:18; 17:2, etc.); and (d) to "do that which is (or was) right in the eyes of Jehovah" (1 Ki. 15:5, 11, etc.; cf. Deut. 12:25; 13:18, etc.), etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for full lists, LOT, 200 ff. HDB, ii. 859 ff.

Besides (a) "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and (b) "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," which have been referred to previously for illustration (cf. p. 2),<sup>1</sup> other original sources employed by the Deuteronomic compiler were (c) "the Book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 Ki. 11:41) for 1 Ki. 3-11.

"The Book of the Acts of Solomon" may have been a part of a work dealing with the kings of Judah. It is also possible that the two preceding sources referred to and this were parts of the same historical series. It seems more probable, however, that they were separate works, especially the two "Chronicles." In support of this conclusion note the recording of *distinct* facts as part of the same event described (which are quoted apparently from these sources), according to their particular bearing on one or the other of the two kingdoms, e.g. Hazael's campaign (2 Ki. 10:32; 13:3; cf. 12:17 ff.).

From the contents we find derived from these sources a natural inference is that they were similar in character, dealing with the public and official acts of the different kings. Only once are the sins of a king mentioned as being recorded "in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (2 Ki. 21:17).

It should be added that these three authorities form the fundamental sources of the books of Kings.

(d) Prophetic tales of which Elijah and Elisha are the heroes found in 1 Ki. 17-2 Ki. 13, inserted by R<sup>p</sup> with little change;<sup>2</sup> and (e) long and graphic descriptions of the wars of the Northern Kingdom (beginning with 1 Ki. 20 and recurring at intervals as far as 2 Ki. 10), written also from the prophetic standpoint.

The stories relating to Elijah and Elisha (designated by some writers Pr., or Elijah = Pr. and Elisha = Pr<sup>2</sup>.; by others = El.), are generally considered by scholars to have been independent of the two Chronicles of the kingdoms. This seems evident from the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the fact that in the case of a few reigns of the Divided Kingdom no reference is made to either of these sources; of Judah, — Athaliah (2 Ki. 11), Jehoahaz (23:31-33), Jehoiachin (24:8 f.) and Zedekiah (25:1 ff.); of Israel, — Joram (2 Ki. 3:1-3) and Hoshea (17:1-6).

<sup>2</sup> Notice how these longer sections incorporated by R<sup>p</sup> are adapted and adjusted to the material, which was excerpted by him from the "Chronicles," and which especially bears his marks; e.g. 1 Ki. 17 presupposes 16:30-33; and 2 Ki. 9 in like manner 2 Ki. 8:28 f. Cf. Cornill, *Intro.* 210.

vivid and dramatic character of these narratives.<sup>1</sup> While some hold that both portions, one relating to Elijah, and the other to Elisha, were the work of the same writer, it seems more probable that they belong to at least two, if not three, sources. They undoubtedly originated in the Northern Kingdom (cf. the explanatory clause 1 Ki. 19:3, "which belongeth to Judah," which indicates their origin outside of Judah).

The Prophetic (= war) tales, including the R<sup>p</sup> additions, are found in the following sections, 1 Ki. 20; 22:1-38; 2 Ki. 3; 6:24-7:20; 9-10. Of these chapters a part, however, is assigned by some scholars to the Elisha sources, *e.g.* 2 Ki. 3:4 ff.; 6:24-7:20 by Kent.<sup>2</sup> From the manifest interest in the Northern Kingdom this source undoubtedly had its origin there. By some writers it is given the symbol E, as possibly a part of the E document of the Hexateuch continued to later times.

The difference between the Elijah and Elisha tales on the one hand and this Prophetic source on the other consists in this; that in the former, prophetic, biographical details and events (connected with religious reformation and social questions for instance) are emphasized; while in the latter political matters centring in the kings and kingdom are the prominent interests, even though the figure of the prophet is conspicuous. Elijah, however, is not mentioned (cf. Micaiah, 1 Ki. 22:8 ff.). For the Deuteronomic editor's method in introducing these sources, cf. above, pp. 56, 57, n.<sup>2</sup>

(f) Possibly the Temple archives may have furnished the details relating to the Temple and ritual in some sections (*e.g.* 2 Ki. 11:4 ff.; 12:4-16; 16:10-18; 23:3 ff.; cf. also 1 Ki. 6-7).

Different views are held in reference to the Temple sources. Some (*e.g.* Driver)<sup>3</sup> think that possibly the compiler used such directly. Others (*e.g.* Kent)<sup>4</sup> are of the opinion that the writers of "the Acts of Solomon" and the two "Chronicles" may have originally incorporated them in their works, R<sup>p</sup> thus using them indirectly. Others again question if there was such a Temple history. Note (a) the greater fidelity of laymen than the priesthood which is chronicled in 2 Ki. 12:1-16, and (b) the introduction of the new altar of Ahaz, recorded without protest in 2 Ki. 16:10-18.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially for difference of phraseology and point of view, LOT, 188 f., 194 f. HDB, ii. 866b (Burney).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 234 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LOT, 189, 196.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 15 ff.

Such features, it is felt, would hardly have been the work of priestly writers.

1 Kings, chaps. 1-2, which in the main have the same general characteristics as 2 Samuel, chaps 9-20 are by common assent assigned to the same source.

In reference to these different sources, which were drawn upon in the composition of our canonical books of Kings, it may reasonably be inferred that to a large extent they represent either contemporary documents of different kinds, such as historical annals or stories, or were based upon such.

The following may be taken as their probable chronological order with approximate dates: (a) "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," c. 800 B.C., though possibly later in that century.

From the apparent similarity of "the Book of the Acts of Solomon" to "the Books of the Chronicles of Israel and Judah" (as inferred from the contents derived from them), its date may reasonably be placed in approximately the same time as the earlier of these [cf. (d), below], though possibly a little before. Cf. Kent = not earlier than 800 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

(b) The Elijah stories may well date from the ninth century, or perhaps not long after 800 B.C.

Two facts especially may be mentioned as bearing on the date of the Elijah tales: (a) the element to some extent of idealization in the description of the prophet suggests a generation or two later than his ministry, which belonged to the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah and Joram, 875-c. 850 B.C.; and (b) the fact that worship at the northern shrines is not denounced, as by Amos and Hosea, points to a date before these prophets, *i.e.* before c. 750 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

(c) The Prophetic narratives (1 Ki. 20, etc.) probably originated about the same time as the Elijah stories.

Kent, who designates 1 Ki. 20 and 22: 1-38 as "Ahab History," dates them earlier than the Elijah stories, *viz.* between 850 and 800 B.C. on account of the vividness and fidelity of their portrayals.<sup>3</sup>

(d) "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 16.

<sup>2</sup> See W. R. Harper, *Amos*, etc., xxxiv for other variant dates suggested by different scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, *Ibid.*, 219 f.

was likely completed soon after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, 722 (721) B.C.

These "Chronicles" of the two kingdoms are probably not to be identified with the official records, though that view is held. The question is not an important one, for these works seem to have been based on trustworthy sources; possibly, as Kautzsch concludes, "taken from a kind of Chronicles, begun early in both kingdoms, and afterwards continued down to a late period, the work of continuation being taken up by one writer after another."<sup>1</sup>

(e) The Elisha stories seem further removed from the times which they describe than the corresponding Elijah narratives, and so they are dated by some in the eighth by others in the seventh century B.C.

(f) "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," since the last reference to it (2 Ki. 24:5) belongs to the reign of Jehoiakim, 608-597 B.C., was completed c. 597 B.C., or at least before the fall of Jerusalem 586 B.C.

Different views are held in reference to the dating of "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." Some think that the main body of the work may have been completed as early as Hezekiah's reign, c. 719 (?) ff. B.C., the material of subsequent reigns being added as supplements. In favor of this conclusion are these facts: (a) the absence of the Deuteronomic influence in the material derived from this source; and (b) a date as late as c. 600 B.C. brings it too near to the time of R<sup>D</sup>. According to this view the reference in 2 Ki. 24:5 may be a mistaken imitation by R<sup>D</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

The latest event recorded in these books is in 561 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 25:27//Jer. 52:31), which brings their compilation down to a time subsequent to that year, though perhaps not many years later.

Some scholars conclude from the expression "all the days of his (*i.e.* Jehoiachin's) life" (2 Ki. 25:30) that the work was not completed till after his death, which might bring its date toward the end of the Exile. Cf. "until the day of his death" Jer. 52:34.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 71.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on this view Bennett, *Introd.* 97 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 861b (Burney). McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 386 (§ 1360). Skinner, Ki. 22 f.

On the other hand there are a number of references in the Deuteronomic sections, which imply that the kingdom of Judah (cf. the Temple and Davidic dynasty) is still in existence [e.g. 1 Ki. 11:36; cf. 8:15-53; 9:3; 15:4: 2 Ki. 8:19 (/2 Chr. 21:7); 17:18, 21-23].

Cf. also the expression "unto this day," 1 Ki. 8:8; 9:21; 12:19 and especially 2 Ki. 8:22; 16:6 and 17:34 from which the inference is the same. This is the usual view taken, though McCurdy maintains that the "day" in these passages is not that of the compiler but of the authors of the records cited, the compiler not being careful in his method of using his sources.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion drawn from these facts is that there were two Deuteronomic editions; one (R<sup>D</sup>) dating from the closing years of the kingdom of Judah, c. 597-586 B.C. (or possibly c. 600 B.C.) extending as far as 2 Ki. 23:30 or possibly 24:1; and the second, later and supplemental (R<sup>D2</sup>), c. 560 B.C. or later, which supplied the subsequent historical facts of the book, together with some insertions in the previous sections.<sup>2</sup>

The dates within which the first Deuteronomic editing must come are 621 B.C., i.e. the year of the discovery of the Deuteronomic Code, and 586 B.C. = the destruction of Jerusalem. If "the Book of the Chronicles of Judah" was not completed till after 597 B.C. [cf. above, p. 60 (f)], then R<sup>D</sup> must be subsequent to that date.

Scholars differ in reference to the exact point at which the first R<sup>D</sup> edition of Kings ends. According to some it terminates with 2 Ki. 23:25 (e.g. McCurdy, etc.<sup>3</sup>); some place the conclusion at 2 Ki. 23:30 ("presumably" = Burney,<sup>4</sup>); others with 2 Ki. 24:1 (e.g. Kautzsch, Cornill).<sup>5</sup>

The insertions attributed to R<sup>D2</sup> are such for example as those implying the fall of the kingdom of Judah and the Exile. The following are the R<sup>D2</sup> insertions according to Burney, 1 Ki. 11:39;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HPM, iii. p. 386, n. 1 (§ 1360).

<sup>2</sup> As there is no reference in Kings to the return from Exile, c. 537 B.C., it seems reasonable to conclude that the editorial work of R<sup>D2</sup> was prior to that date. The fact that the Deut. Code and not the Priestly Code, which began to be codified probably in the latter part of the Exile, is the standard by which the kings are judged favors the same conclusion as to date.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HPM, iii. p. 386 (§ 1360).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 862a.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 73, 244. Cornill, Introd. 218.



2 Ki. 17:19, 20; 23:26, 27 and possibly 1 Ki. 9:7-9; 2 Ki. 20:17-18; 21:11-15; 22:15-20. Cf. also the expression "beyond the River" (1 Ki. 4:24, R. V. marg.), which is a post-exilic designation of Syria (cf. Ezra 4:17; Neh. 2:9, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Skinner's view that R<sup>D2</sup> "also contributed a good deal of the hortatory matter in which the book abounds."<sup>2</sup>

The additions by Priestly editors (R<sup>P</sup>) belong to a still later age; probably post-exilic. As already noticed these additions are few in number.<sup>3</sup>

While the chronological details, connected with the different reigns, were probably derived in the main from "the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and of Israel," the synchronistic scheme followed in the Divided Kingdom (cf. 1 Ki. 15 and onward) is generally attributed to R<sup>D2</sup>.

Two reasons may be given for assigning the synchronism to R<sup>D2</sup>: (a) it is improbable that either Chronicler would have dated each king's accession by the years of the corresponding reign of the other kingdom, and (b) the fact that the synchronisms at times do not agree with the chronological facts evidently derived from the "Chronicles" by the original R<sup>P</sup> editor.

The view of Skinner may be noted that the synchronisms belong to a much later date. He bases his conclusion on "the remarkable deviations found in the LXX, especially in LXX (L)" in the synchronisms compared with the Hebrew version.<sup>4</sup>

For the set-formulæ, including synchronistic details, in connection with the beginning and close of each reign of the Divided Kingdom, see 1 Ki. 15 and subsequent chapters.

Fortunately valuable, supplementary, chronological data have been obtained from the Assyrian records, after that nation came in contact with Israel and Judah, from which the dates of Biblical events in many places can be more certainly determined. Cf. Ap. C, pp. 335 ff., 344 ff.

As previously noticed only chapters 1-11 of 1 Kings belong to the period of the United Kingdom; the remaining parts relate to the Divided Kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 861b. For a fuller list cf. EBi, ii. 2665, n. 2; 2668.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skinner, Ki. 21.

<sup>3</sup> For some of the R<sup>P</sup> additions to Kings, cf. pp. 267 f., v. k., and refs. Cf. also Cornill, Introd. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skinner, Ki. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Kings,

*C. The Books of Chronicles.* First and Second Chronicles, which belong to the second series of Old Testament historical writings (see pp. 1 f.), originally formed with Ezra and Nehemiah a single book.

In the Jewish canon 1 and 2 Chr. form one book; also Ezra and Nehemiah one book. That these four originally constituted a single work is inferred from (a) their style, standpoint and interests, which are the same; also from the fact (b) that Ezra-Nehemiah continue the history from the point at which Chronicles ends. (2 Chr. ends in the middle of a sentence, and Ezra 1:1-3a is parallel to 2 Chr. 36:22 f.). The division into separate books is due to the LXX. Note, however, the view p. 204, n. 1.

The books of Chronicles were written from the standpoint of those specially interested not in the political but in the religious institutions of the Jewish people, *i.e.* in the priesthood, — particularly the Levites and singers, — the Temple and ritual observances. (Cf. 1 C. 13:1-5; 15:1-24, 27a; 16:4-42; chaps. 22-29 (mostly); 2 C. 5:11-13a, etc. Note also 2 C. 17:8 f.; 29:34; 35:3-6, 15, etc.).

There is also an interest in the prophets in Chronicles, it is true, and considerable attention is given to them, but the conception of them is a very artificial one, viz. as those who "pointed out the moral of a situation . . . now by stimulus, now again by rebuke" (cf. 2 C. 12:5-8; 15:1-15; 16:7-10, etc.<sup>1</sup>).

Note also the mechanical conception of retribution; *e.g.* 1 C. 10:13 f.; 15:13; 2 C. 12:2b; 17:10, etc.

Judah, with which Benjamin is associated, is considered the true people of God, in contrast to Israel, which is regarded as an apostate kingdom (cf. 2 C. 25:7). Hence Chronicles is

LOT, 185 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 95 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 205 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 41 f., 68 ff., 96, 120, 240 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 94 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 76 ff. Moore, LOT, 99 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 95 ff., 177 ff., 198 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 72 f., 90. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 6 f., 10, 13 ff., 20 f. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 3 ff., 12 ff., 57 ff., 113 f., 167. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 49 ff., 205 ff. HDB, i. 687 ff., 693 ff. (Strachan); ii. 856 ff. (Burney). EBi, ii. 2664 ff. (W. R. Smith and Kautzsch); 2077 f., 2079 f. (Moore); cf. 1270 ff., 1275 ff. (Addis). McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 383 ff. (§§ 1356 ff.). W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 113 ff., 140. *Intros.* in *Comms. on Ki. espec. Cen. B.* (Skinner); *Camb. B.* (Barnes = in R. V.); *Expos. B.* (Farrar). Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 288 f. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 66 f., cf. 52 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 9 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 126 f., 181. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 256 ff., 90 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McFadyen, *Hists.* 280.

almost exclusively a history of Judah, only the barest references being made to the Northern Kingdom. The Priestly Code is the standard by which the nation's history was judged, as Deuteronomy is the standard of the compiler of the books of Kings.

"Nothing is of real interest but Judah; and in Judah, Jerusalem; and in Jerusalem, the temple. For the Chronicler, the temple with its worship is the centre of the universe."<sup>1</sup>

The books of Chronicles, like the other historical writings previously considered, are based on earlier records. The older sources used by their writer, who is usually termed the Chronicler (Ch.),<sup>2</sup> were the books of the first historical series of Old Testament writings (see pp. 1 f.), viz. Genesis to 2 Kings, also Ruth, from which selections were incorporated almost word for word, though occasionally condensed, and sometimes expanded or changed by the introduction of clauses, verses and longer sections.<sup>3</sup> Of these historical books, it may be added that Samuel and Kings were especially used by the Chronicler.

The additional material in Chronicles, for which there is no parallel in the earlier canonical, historical books, is derived from various sources, the names of which are given: *e.g.* (a) "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 C. 16:11, etc.); (b) "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (2 C. 27:7, etc.); (c) "the Book of the Kings of Israel" (1 C. 9:1, R. V.); (d) "the Acts of the Kings of Israel" (2 C. 33:18); (e) "the Commentary" (literally, "Midrash") "of the Book of the Kings" (2 C. 24:27, referred to only in this place); (f) "the History" (literally, "Words") "of Jehu, son of Hanani, which is inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel" (2 C. 20:34); (g) different works attributed to Prophetic authors (cf. 1 C. 29:29; 2 C. 9:29, etc.), and other writings.

Of the above sources mentioned, (a) and (b) are probably the same work; cf. the fact that the reigns of Josiah (2 C. 35:27)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McFadyen, *Hists.* 275.

<sup>2</sup> In this volume by the symbol Ch. is designated all the material peculiar to the books of Chronicles; also the compiler's contribution in *Ezra-Neh.* (cf. p. 201).

<sup>3</sup> For illustrations of some of the differences of representation in Chr. as compared with the earlier historical books, cf. p. 5.

and Jehoiakim (2 C. 36:8) are referred to under (b), though belonging to a period of Judah's history after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. (c) may well belong to the same work, also (d); cf. 2 C. 33:18 = a king of Judah. (e) and (f) may also be parts of the same "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." The sources referred to under (g) may be independent works, or not unlikely sections of the historical books cited above (cf. espec. the inference from 2 C. 20:34b; 32:32b; cf. Rom. 11:2, R. V. marg.). It is thus not improbable that these various titles refer to practically one source.

It is to be noted further that the works referred to above, (a) to (c), are not canonical Kings, because they are cited for matters not referred to in Kings (cf. 1 C. 9:1; 2 C. 20:34; 27:7; 33:18; 36:8). Nor is it likely that they are the same as the sources of canonical Kings; certainly not if those writings were separate works (p. 57).<sup>1</sup> It is possible, however, that they may have been based on those earlier sources, and represent a gradual growth.

The genealogies (1 C. 1-9) contain much material not in the older canonical books, which may have been derived from earlier sources. Cf. p. 304, iv. i.

The new material derived from these records, instead of being excerpted, as was the usual custom in the composition of the earlier historical books, was largely rewritten by the Chronicler. This is seen by the words and style characteristic of the new sections.

Many of the peculiarities of Ch. are connected with his use of words and his constructions in the Hebrew, some of which are found in other post-exilic writings, but others used by him alone, "which are often, if the Book be read carefully, perceptible in a translation."

Some of the characteristic expressions are "house of God" (1 C. 6:48 and 33 times more); to "seek unto" or "inquire of" (God), in a general not special sense (1 C. 13:3; 15:13, etc.); "riches and honor" (1 C. 29:12, 28; 2 C. 1:11 f., etc.); "hear me," introducing a speech (1 C. 28:2; 2 C. 13:4, etc.), etc.<sup>2</sup>

The most important source of the new material was probably "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" ("Israel and Judah"), which is generally supposed to have been a

<sup>1</sup> See, however, the statement in Cornill, *Introd.* 236 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further LOT, 535 ff., 504 f. HDB, i. 389b ff. Curtis, *Chr.* 27 ff.

post-exilic work, a sort of Midrash, written from the standpoint of the restored community.

This "Book of the Kings, etc." may also have included statistical matter, though this is not certain, for such may have been derived from a separate source. Cf. reference to a genealogical list, 1 C. 5:17; 9:1.

"The Midrash may be defined as an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (Tobit and Susannah are thus 'Midrashim')." <sup>1</sup>

The conclusion that "the Book of the Kings of Judah, etc." was the main source of the new material is based upon the character of the subject-matter, apparently derived from this work, in which the treatment and conception of Israel's history differ in so marked a manner from the books of Samuel and Kings.

Notice, for example, (a) the prominence given to Levites and other Temple officers (1 C. 22 ff.) of whom no mention is made in Samuel, which points to a time after Ezra-Nehemiah, c. 430 B.C. Cf. also (b) the conception of victories gained by Jehovah's direct interposition, rather than by the instrumentality of armies, as seen in the remodelling of 2 Ki. 3 in 2 C. 20 (cf. also 2 C. 13:13 ff.; 14:8 ff.), which indicates a late date, etc.

It is not certain of course what proportion of this new material was derived by Ch. from this "Book of Kings, etc.," and what was added by himself. Some even think that the Chronicler had only one source, viz. our Biblical Samuel-Kings, the additional portions being inserted on his own authority.<sup>2</sup> It seems, however, more probable that he actually used such a work as this to which he refers, the standpoint of which was much like his own.

The view of a number of scholars has much to commend it, that the Midrash referred to in 2 C. 24:27 (R. V. "commentary") is another title of the same source. As to the other writings mentioned, if they were separate works, their dates undoubtedly were no older, since the material derived from them is essentially the same in character.

The date of the compilation of Chronicles is based upon: (a) the genealogical list of 1 C. 3:19-24, which according

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 529.

<sup>2</sup> For this view cf. Moore, LOT, 124 f.

to the Hebrew text (cf. E. V.) carries the names of the Davidic family down to the sixth generation after Zerubbabel, and hence to a time not earlier than about 350 B.C. If the LXX text of vs. 21 is adopted, which is preferred by many scholars, the genealogy is continued to the eleventh generation after Zerubbabel, hence about 250 or 200 B.C.

The LXX of 1 C. 3:21 reads, "And the sons of Hananiah, Pelatiah, and Jesaiah, his son, Rephaiah, his son, Arnan, his son, Obadiah, his son, Shechaniah, his son." This is after the analogy of the genealogical type followed in 1 C. 3:10 ff.

(b) Chronicles belongs to the same age as Ezra-Nehemiah, both being generally regarded as the work of the same compiler. There are good grounds for assigning the compilation of Ezra-Nehemiah to a date after the close of the Persian period, 332 B.C. (see pp. 202 ff.), hence Chronicles cannot be earlier. (c) The standpoint of the compiler, who was possibly a Levitical singer, is that of the Priestly Code, as noticed above (pp. 63 f.). The adoption of this Code is now generally assigned to a post-exilic date. And (d) the language and style are also late (cf. the language, etc., p. 65).

Other grounds for the late date of Chronicles, which may be mentioned, are: (e) the reference to Persian "darics" (1 C. 29:7), which implies a time when that coinage had long been current, *i.e.* at least late in the Persian period; and (f) the title "king of Persia" (2 C. 36:22 f.) instead of the official title, "the king"; "the great king," etc., points to a date after the Persian period (cf. also Ezra, etc., pp. 202 ff.).

On the other hand, the fact that reference is made to the books of Chronicles in Ecclesiasticus (49:13), c. 200-180 B.C., shows that they were completed before that time. The date accordingly to which the compilation of the books of Chronicles is commonly assigned is 300-250 B.C.

Note also, as bearing on the date of the completion of Chronicles, that in them there is no reference to, nor trace of, the Jewish experiences during the Maccabean conflict, c. 170-165 B.C. and later.

The late date of Chronicles is important to remember in comparing the statements, contained therein, with the accounts in Samuel and Kings. In differences of detail or point of view the

fact must be taken into account that Samuel and Kings are much nearer the original sources of information than Chronicles.

Of the books of Chronicles, 1 C. 10-2 C. 9, together with some sections in 1 C. 1-9, belong to the United Kingdom; the remainder relates to the period of the Divided Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. LITERATURE WHICH MAY POSSIBLY DATE FROM THE PERIOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

In addition to the portions of literature belonging to the period of the United Kingdom, which are embodied in the historical books, such as David's Elegy (2 Sam. 1:17 ff.), there are other Old Testament writings, which according to their ascriptions belong here, which it will be necessary to consider.

*A. Psalms.* It is generally allowed among Old Testament scholars that the Psalter was the hymn book of the post-exilic Jewish community. As such it properly belongs to that period where it will be considered more in detail. But this date for the compilation of the Psalter does not preclude the possibility of individual psalms, or fragments of psalms, of earlier dates being incorporated in the collection.

It is to be noticed that many scholars admit the existence of a few psalms as late as the time of the Maccabean struggle, c. 170 ff. B.C., e.g. 74, 79, 44 and possibly 83. According to others many more date from this late period.<sup>2</sup>

When an attempt is made to determine what are the earlier psalms, with their respective authors and dates, a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Chronicles, LOT, 516 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 107 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 225 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 121 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 347 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 87 ff. Moore, LOT, 116 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 270 ff. HDB, i. 389 ff. (Brown); iii. 597b f. (Curtis); 613b f. (Woods). EBi, i. 667 f. (Budde); 763 ff. (W. R. Smith and Driver); ii. 2084 ff. (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Chr. espec. Int. Crit.* (Curtis); *Expos. B.* (Bennett); *Cen. B.* (Harvey-Jellie); *Camb. B.* (Barnes). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 109 ff. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 7, 22 ff. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 7 ff. Kent, *United Kingd.* 13, 15, 111 f. Kent, *Jew. People*, 272, 312 f. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 224 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 4 ff., 419 ff. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 10 f. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, 140 ff., cf. 204. Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, etc., 457 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 361 f. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 213 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 138 f., 144 f., 151. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 303 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.* See his list p. 318, iii. 3. c, this vol.

problem of great difficulty involving much uncertainty is met with, upon which the opinion of scholars at present varies quite widely.<sup>1</sup> This is due to the following circumstances: *First*, the titles ascribing authorship and occasion are now generally considered to be editorial additions of later times, representing either traditional opinion in reference to individual psalms, or derived from titles which originally belonged to collections. For example the title, "A Psalm of David," may simply mean a psalm belonging to a Davidic collection, irrespective of its particular authorship.

It is to be noted that in the psalms attributed to "the sons of Korah" (42, 44 ff., etc.) this title evidently refers to the *name of a collection* and not to plurality of authorship.<sup>2</sup>

That many of such titles cannot be accepted as guaranteeing Davidic authorship is shown by references in the psalms themselves, pointing to other occasions and dates. Thus among the 73 psalms attributed to David are: (a) linguistic peculiarities, such as Aramaisms (*e.g.* 103; 122 and 139 especially); (b) references implying the existence of the Temple (*e.g.* 5:7a; 24:4, etc.); and (c) conditions and problems reflected, which are different from those of David's time, — such as the oppression of the righteous by the wicked (*e.g.* 12; 13; 35, etc.), and allusions to later historical situations (*e.g.* 51, cf. vss. 18 f.; 69, cf. vs. 4. Note in both of these psalms that the Exile and the approaching Restoration are implied). These facts together with (d) the expression of theological conceptions denoting a more advanced stage of religious progress (*e.g.* psalms presupposing the teaching of the great prophets of the eighth century and following) may be given as some of the reasons which lead scholars to-day to consider such psalms non-Davidic.

<sup>1</sup> See classification of views in reference to pre-exilic psalms, pp. 130 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. against this explanation as bearing on the Davidic titles, Kautzsch, LOT, 142. Note also the view in Cornill, Introd. 396 f. Cf. Kent's conclusion that "the title *To David* must mean either a psalm dedicated to David or else one of a collection of songs made by a guild of singers who bore the historic designation David. . . . The title *Psalm of David* . . . was used to designate an early literary production the exact authorship of which was unknown, but which was by current tradition attributed to the traditional patron of this type of literature." See his Songs, etc., 41.



It is also to be observed that in some of the psalms assigned to David the standpoint is that of subjects addressing their king, *e.g.* Pss. 20 and 21.

Thirteen of the psalms refer to specific events in David's career; cf. the headings of Pss. 3; 7; 18; 34; 51; 52; 54; 56; 57; 59; 60; 63; 142. According to Briggs these superscriptions were added by a late editor, because these psalms seemed to him to illustrate appropriately the different events in David's life to which he has assigned them.<sup>1</sup> Note also the view of W. R. Smith, that these titles had their origin in an age "to which David was merely the abstract Psalmist, and which had no idea whatever of the historical conditions of his time."<sup>2</sup>

A *second* fact, which accounts for the difficulty in reference to date and authorship, is that the internal evidence of the psalms (such as historical allusions, literary characteristics, relation to other Old Testament literature, and theological conceptions), upon which alone these questions can be decided, is seldom of definite enough character to indicate more than the general period to which a psalm belongs, such as pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic. In many instances even these distinctions cannot be made with certainty.

On the other hand, as related to the question of Davidic psalms, the consideration of which belongs especially to the period of the United Kingdom, is the certainty that David was a musician and poet, as is known from the testimony of early and varied sources (*e.g.* 1 Sam. 16:17 ff.; 18:10; 2 Sam. 1:17 ff.; 3:33 ff.; 6:5, etc.; Amos 6:5). This, however, does not prove that any of the present psalms in the Psalter were written by him. It simply points to the *possibility*, if not the *probability*, of such being the case.

It is true that the Chronicler undoubtedly regarded David as the founder of the Temple psalmody (cf. 1 C. 23:5; 25:1-7; 2 C. 7:6, etc.; also Ezra 3:10 and Neh. 12:36), but his testimony belongs to a time long subsequent to David. Cf. pp. 66 ff.

It is the opinion accordingly of the great majority of Old Testament scholars at present, that it is impossible to *prove* the existence of any Davidic psalms, owing to the insufficiency of data definite enough to establish such a conclusion.

<sup>1</sup> Briggs, Psal. i. pp. lxiii f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 216. Kent, Songs, etc., 41.

While, therefore, several scholars admit the existence of a limited number of such, the general trend of opinion is strongly against the possibility of many, if any. Those which with more probability may be assigned to David are given in the outline of Biblical material of this period, but with the recognition that this is not a certain or unanimous conclusion of scholars.

Ewald attributed to David Pss. 3; 4; 7; 8; 11; 15; 18; 19:1-6; 24:1-6; 24:7-10; 29; 32; 101; also the fragments found in later psalms, 60:6-9; 68:13-18 and 144:12-14. He based this conclusion on the originality, dignity and unique power displayed in them.<sup>1</sup>

This list is considerably enlarged in Kirkpatrick's volume on the Psalms; and a still larger number are considered Davidic by Delitzsch.

Driver leaves the question of Davidic psalms an open one. He thinks it may be affirmed with tolerable confidence that very few of the psalms are earlier than the seventh century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Davison, while admitting that it cannot be proved that any Davidic psalms are found in the Psalter, thinks that if the 18th be his the probability is that others should also be attributed to him. There is, therefore, the possibility of from 10 to 20 Davidic psalms, including 3; 4; 7; 8; 15; 18; 23; 24; 32 and perhaps 101 and 110. "The number can hardly be greater and may be still less."<sup>3</sup>

These may be taken as representative opinions of moderately conservative scholars on this difficult subject.

Of the scholars who hold that no Davidic psalms are found in the Psalter, Cheyne may be taken as the leading authority among English and American writers. While formerly he held that with the possible exception of Ps. 18, which is not earlier than Deuteronomy = 7th cen. B.C., none of the psalms are pre-exilic, more recently he had concluded that this psalm also belongs to a later date.<sup>4</sup>

Cf. the view of Briggs that Ps. 18 in its original form (*i.e.* vss. 1, 20-23, 24-27, 44b-45, 49 = later, post-exilic additions) was probably Davidic; and possibly Pss. 7 and 60; 6-10a; also 24:7-10 (or = early monarchy).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ewald, *Psal.* i. pp. 64 ff., 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LOT, 384. See also Kent, *Songs, etc.*, 40 f., 48.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Davison, *Psal.* 23-26; and in HDB, iv. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Cheyne's earlier view = *Origin Psal.* 204 ff.; his later view = *Introd. Isa.* 171. For a concise summary of reasons against the existence of Davidic psalms, cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 51 f. (§ 909).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal.* i. pp. lxiv, 213 f.

The conclusion of Driver on the problem of Davidic authorship may be noted: "The question, however, whether any of the Psalms are David's possesses in reality little but an antiquarian interest. David, it is certain, left his impress upon the religion of Israel not, like the prophets, directly but *indirectly*, by establishing the monarchy upon a permanent basis, and laying the foundations for a national religious centre."<sup>1 2</sup>

*B. Proverbs.* For the discussion of Solomonic Proverbs, and the possibility of pre-exilic collections of Proverbs, cf. pp. 116 ff.; 313 f., v. s. v. x.

*C. The Blessing of Jacob* (Gen. 49:2-27). This poem, in its present form, is now considered by almost all Old Testament scholars to be later than the time of Jacob. It is held to be either (a) an expansion of an ancient production; or (b) composed of separate poetic fragments relating to the different tribes, possibly from different periods; or (c) according to some it is a unity, written at a later time to express the content of Jacob's blessing. (Cf. on the poems incorporated in JE, p. 29.)

This view of the late date of the poem is based on the historical and geographical conditions assumed in it, which are those of the times of the Judges, Samuel and David. From the analogy of Old Testament predictions, *which always reflect the writer's own age*, the chronological indications of the poem are accordingly clear.

Note (a) that vss. 23 f. look back upon past events; also (b)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 380.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further on the question of authorship and date of individual psalms, LOT, 373 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 143 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 393 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 11 f. McFadyen, *Introd.* 244 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 134 ff. Moore, LOT, 220 ff. HDB, i. 561a, 571b (White); iv. 149 ff. (Davison). EBi, i. 1034 f.; iii. 3942 (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Psal.*, e.g. Ewald, Delitzsch, etc., and espec. in *Int. Crit.* (Briggs); Camb. B. (Kirkpatrick); Cen. B. (Davison and Davies = 2 vols.). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 106 ff. McFadyen, *Psal.* 19 ff. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 96 f., espec. 214 ff. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 40 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 99 ff. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.* 190 ff. (also notes pp. 208-213, 459 f.). Cheyne, *Aids*, etc., 131 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 322 ff., 334 ff. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 51 f. (§ 909). G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 86 f. Robertson, *Poet. and Relig.*, etc., chaps. 3 and 13. Sayce, *Early Hist. Hebrs.* 449 f. Kent, *United Kingd.* 165 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 16 ff., 276. Kittel, *Scient. Study O. T.* 128 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 106 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 43 ff.; cf. 130 ff.

(For introduction to the Psalter, including its divisions, collections and dates, see pp. 224 ff.)

the use of "Jacob" and "Israel" (vs. 7) in the national sense, which implies an age long after that of Jacob. Cf. (c) that the poem is a description of the *tribes* not of the individual sons of Jacob.

The poem accordingly is now generally assigned to the time of David and Solomon, — note especially Judah's position of supremacy, vss. 8–12. So McCurdy, Kautzsch, H. P. Smith, Duhm, etc. It may be noted that some consider that parts of the poem may date from the days of the Judges (*e.g.* vss. 3–7, 14–17, 27 on Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Dan and Benjamin; cf. Skinner), while the section on Joseph (vss. 22–26) is assigned by a number of scholars to the time of the Divided Kingdom (cf. Bennett).<sup>1</sup>

*D. The Balaam poems in Num. 23–24.* See p. 41, iv. c.

*E. For Ex. 15:1–18 and other literature which may belong to this period,* cf. pp. 83 f., v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the Blessing of Jacob, LOT, 19. Bennett, *Introd.* 63. Cornill, *Introd.* 117 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 15, 177. McFadyen, *Introd.* 16 f. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 10. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 93 f. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 104, 175 f., 499. Wade, O. T. Hist. 7, 82. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 47, 107. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 58 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 49 f. (§ 905). Comms. on Gen. in loc. (*e.g.* Bennett, Driver, Skinner, Ryle = p. xxxv). HDB, ii. 532*a* (Driver); iv. 11*b* (Budde), 238*b* (Bennett). EBi, ii. 1677 (Moore); iii. 3797; cf. 3795 (Duhm). CHB, Hex. i. 159 f. G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 105. Schmidt, *Poets*, 309 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 40 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 41 f.

VI. B. NARRATIVES AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED. c. 1040 (?) B.C.-937 B.C. = 1 Samuel 8-1 Kings 11; (// 1 Chronicles 10-2 Chronicles 9); some Davidic psalms (?); some Solomonic proverbs (?). Poems, e.g. Gen. 49:2-27 (= Blessing of Jacob), and in Num. 23 f., the Balaam oracles, etc.<sup>1</sup>

1. SAUL 1040 (?) - 1020 (?) B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of Saul's reign* = 1 Sam. 8:1-28:2; 1 Chr. 12:1-22; 1 Sam. 28:3-30:31; 31 (// 1 Chr. 10); 2 Sam. 1:1-27.

ii. *Literary productions.*

2 Sam. 1:19-27. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan.

iii. *Composition of the historical material and literary notes.*

a. Earlier Prophetic, Saul and David narratives: (J?) = 1 Sam. 9:1-10:16 + 10:27b (LXX; cf. R. V. marg.) + 11:1-11, 15 (= Saul's appointment as king); 13:2-7, 15b-18; 14; 16:14-23; 18:6\*-11, 20-30; 20 (in the main); 22; 23:1-13, 19-29; 24 (in the main); 25; 27:1-31:13 (in the main); 2 Sam. 1:1-5, 12, 17 f. (E ?) = 1 Sam. 15 (in the main); 17:1-18:5 (in the main); 18:6\*, 12-19; 19:1-18\*; 21:1-9; 23:14-18; 26; 2 Sam. 1:6-11, 13-16.<sup>2</sup>

b. Later Prophetic narratives (E<sup>2</sup>?) = 1 Sam. 8 + 10:17-27 (E. V.) + 12 (or = R<sup>D</sup>; cf. n. d below) (= Saul's appointment as king); 13:8-15a, 19-22 (J<sup>2</sup>?); 15:24-31, 34 f.

c. Later supplemental additions more or less connected = 1 Sam. 11:12-14; 16:1-13 (R<sup>P</sup>); 17:12 f.; 19:18\*-24 (late); 20:4-17, 40-42; 21:10-15 (late); (24:20-22a?); 25:1a; 28:3, 17-19a.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other literature assigned to this period by different scholars, see above ii; p. 76, ii; p. 78, ii; pp. 83 f., v; cf. also pp. 79-81, ii.-iii.; and p. 81, ii.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noticed that the LXX text of the sections 1 S. 17:1-18:5 and 18:6-30 is much shorter, the following vss. being omitted, 17:12-31, 38b, 41, 48b, 50, 55-18:5, 6a (to "Phil."), 8b, 10 f., 12b (all after "David"), 17-19, 21b, 26b, 29b-30. For the bearing of this on the difficulties raised, espec. in the first section, on the basis of the Hebrew text (cf. E. V.), cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

<sup>3</sup> For the different classification and analyses of these sources a-c, according to Kautzsch, cf. pp. 135 f., ii. a. (a)-(b) and p. 152, iv. e. (d).

d. The following may be Deuteronomic ( $R^D$ ) = (1 Sam. 12); 13:1; 14:47-51 (?); 28:3 (?). [Many scholars think that 1 Sam. 12 formed the conclusion of the original (JE?) history of the Judges, as Josh. 24 ended the account of the Conquest. The chapter has affinities with E but it is also allied to D; hence some scholars designate it as  $E^2$  with small additions by  $R^D$  ( $D^2$ ). Perhaps the basis of the narrative is E, which was subsequently expanded (espec. vss. 9 ff.) by a writer whose phraseology was Deuteronomic.] For other vss. possibly editorial in addition to those indicated in b-c above, cf. Intros., Comms. and Bible Dicts.

e. The following sections are considered parallel (variant) accounts: (a) the two stories of Saul's appointment, cf. above, a, b; (b) 1 Sam. 10:10-13//19:18-24; (c) 13:4-15//chap. 15; (d) 16:14-23//17:1-18:5; (e) 19:1-7, cf. chap. 20 (?); (f) 23:1, 19-24 + chap. 24//chap. 26; (g) 2 Sam. 1:1-5, 12, cf. vss. 6-11, 13-16 (?).

f. The material peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) = 1 C. 12:1-22; 10:13 f.

g. For the character and date of the "Book of Jashar" (2 Sam. 1:18), from which the Elegy of David was derived (vss. 19 ff.), cf. p. 43, iv. b. The authenticity of this Elegy is practically unquestioned.

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. There is much more certainty in determining the close of this period than in the case of the dates thus far considered. This is due to the fact that from dates absolutely settled by the aid of Assyrian chronology (cf. Ap. C, p. 344), by working backward in history, the end of this period can be approximately determined. Hence the year given above, 937 B.C., or 934 B.C., according to McCurdy (HPM, iii. p. 434). The dating of the beginning of this period on the basis of the Biblical chronology is more uncertain, for while the length of Solomon's reign is given as 40 years (1 Ki. 11:42), and that of David 40 years (1 Ki. 2:11), the number of years to be assigned to Saul's reign is conjectural (cf. below, n. c). About 1040 (or 1050) B.C. may be taken as the approximate date.

b. It may be noted that from c. 1100 B.C. to c. 900 B.C., Assyria was weak and non-aggressive; and also that the condition of Egypt was similar from at least c. 1200-950 B.C. This gave an opportunity for the extension of the Israelitish territory, especially during the reign of David, without any interference from those powers.

c. The length of Saul's reign is conjectural. The only chronological reference is found in 1 Sam. 13:1, but the text is uncer-

tain. It is thought by some scholars that instead of *two* years assigned to his reign there (*i.e.* the dual form of the Hebrew word in the text), originally the plural form of the noun was found, which was preceded by some number which was subsequently lost from the text. Other dates suggested for this reign vary from 1037 to c. 1015 B.C. for its beginning and from c. 1017-c. 1000 B.C. for its close.

d. According to Kittel the Philistine invasion (1 Sam. 28 ff.) was a few decades later than that recorded in 1 Sam. 14. Cf. Hist. Hebrs. ii. 132.

## 2. DAVID 1020 (?)–980 (?) B.C.

### A. *David as King of Judah*, c. 1020–1013 (?) B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of David's reign as king of Judah* = 2 Sam. 2–4; 1 Chr. 12: 23–40.<sup>1</sup>

ii. *Literary productions.*

2 Sam. 3: 33 f. David's Elegy over Abner.

iii. *Composition of the historical sources and literary notes.*

a. In 2 Samuel the work of the later editors and the presence of later sources are not so marked as in 1 Samuel. The older Davidic narratives constitute the main body of the book.

b. The following verses are probably editorial in 2 Sam. 2–4; 2: 10a, 11 (R<sup>p</sup> ?); 3: 30; 4: 4.

c. 1 Chr. 12: 23–40 is peculiar to the Chronicler, *i.e.* = Ch.

d. The Elegy of David, 2 Sam. 3: 33 f. is generally admitted to be authentic.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. According to the Biblical chronology the length of David's reign was 40 years (2 Sam. 5: 4 f.; 1 Ki. 2: 11). The dates given above are approximate. Other dates suggested for his reign vary from 1017 to c. 1000 B.C. for its beginning and from 977 to c. 960 B.C. for its close.

b. According to 2 Sam. 5: 4 f. and 1 Ki. 2: 11 David reigned as king at Hebron over Judah alone seven years and six months. The years may be given approximately as above, c. 1020–1013 (?) B.C. Cf. for variant dating the previous note.

### B. *David as King of United Israel*, c. 1013–980 (?) B.C.

(a) i. *Sources for the history of David's reign as king of United Israel.*

<sup>1</sup> For previous records relating to David prior to his elevation to the throne, cf. 1 Sam. 16 ff.

Cf. records of national events, espec. 2 Sam. 5:1-10 (//1 Chr. 11:1-9); 2 Sam. 5:11-25 (//1 Chr. 14:1-17); 2 Sam. 6:1-11 (//1 Chr. 13); 1 Chr. 15:1-24; 2 Sam. 6:12-23 (//1 Chr. 15:25-16:3, 43); 1 Chr. 16:4-42; 2 Sam. 7-8 (//1 Chr. 17-18).

ii. *Composition of the historical sources.*

a. For the sources of 2 Samuel, cf. above, iii. a, p. 76.

b. The following verses and sections are Deuteronomic (R<sup>p</sup>), incorporating older material, in 2 Sam. 5-8 = 5:4 f. (chap. 7); 8:1-7 (8:11 f. = R<sup>p</sup>). [The basis of chap. 7 is one of the old Davidic narratives. Scholars are not agreed as to the extent of the Deuteronomic influence. According to Stenning it is not marked (HDB, iv. 389b). There is also difference of opinion as to the date when this chapter received its present form; whether the 7th century or the Exile (as H. P. Smith, Sam. 297 f.).] For other vss. possibly editorial cf. Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts.

c. The following is peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) = 1 C. 14:12b, 17; 13:1-5. (in part); 15:1-24; 16:4-7, 37-42; 17:10\*, 13b, 14, 17b, 18a\*, 21b\*, 22, 27\*.

d. The psalm incorporated in 1 Chr. 16:8-36 is a compilation from Pss. 105:1-15; 96:1-13\*; 106:1, 47 f.

iii. *Chronological notes.*

a. For the date when David became king of United Israel, cf. above, iv. a, p. 76.

b. Hiram of Tyre referred to in 2 Sam. 5:11 f. (cf. 1 Ki. 5:1) reigned according to Josephus 34 yrs. (cf. Ant. viii, 5, § 3; c. Ap. i. §§ 17, 18). The years usually given for his reign are 969-936 B.C. This conflicts with the dates assigned to David's reign above, c. 1020-c. 980(?) B.C. Various solutions are offered; e.g. (a) the bringing of the dates of David's rule down a little later, and the placing of the events of 5:11 f. at the end, instead of near the beginning, of his reign; or (b) the possibility that Hiram's father, Abiba'al, instead of Hiram was the king; or (c) that 5:11 f. is an anticipation of Hiram's kindness to Solomon (1 Ki. 5:1).

c. 2 Sam. 21:15-22 (cf. 1 Chr. 20:4-8) records events which evidently must belong to the early part of David's reign. Hence these sections are placed after 2 Sam. 5 by many scholars. Chap. 23:8-39 (cf. 1 Chr. 11:10-47) seems clearly a continuation of 21:15-22 and so will naturally follow chronologically.

(b) i. *Sources for events especially connected with David's family* = 2 Sam. 9; 10 (//1 Chr. 19; 1-19); 2 Sam. 11 (vs. 1//1 Chr. 20:1a-b); 2 Sam. 12 (with vss. 26-31 cf. 1 Chr. 20:1c-3); 2 Sam. 13-19; 20 (with vss. 23-26 cf. 1 Chr. 18:15-17); 1 Ki.



1 (cf. 1 Chr. 23:1); 1 Ki. 2:1-11 (with vss. 11, 12a, cf. 1 Chr. 29:26-30) + additional details connected with the closing years of David's life = 1 Chr. 22:2-19 + 23:2-29:22.

ii. *Literary productions.*

a. 2 Sam. 12:1-4. Nathan's Parable.<sup>1</sup>

b. 18:33. David's Lament for Absalom.

iii. *Composition of the historical sources relating to David's family.*

a. Scholars are agreed in reference to the unity of 2 Sam. 9-20 together with 1 Ki. 1-2, with the exception of a few minor insertions. These chapters may be classified as Prophetic. They form a group of the best first-hand historical narratives of the Old Testament (J?).

b. The following vss. are editorial, espec. Deuteronomic (R<sup>p</sup>), incorporating in some instances earlier material; 2 Sam. 12:10-12; 14:25-27 (R ?); 15:24 (in part, or = R<sup>p</sup>); 20:23-26; 1 Ki. 2:2 f., 4 (?), 10 f. (?). For other vss. possibly editorial in this section, cf. Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts.

c. The following sections are peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) = 1 C. 29:26, 28-30 + 22:2-19; 23:2-29:22.

d. The Lament for Absalom, 2 Sam. 18:33 is generally considered authentic.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The events recorded in 2 Sam. 9 occurred probably at least 10 years after the death of Ishbaal and David's succession to the United Kingdom. Thus at Saul's death Meribbaal was 5 yrs. of age (2 S. 4:4); it was 7 and a half years later before David became king of all Israel (2 S. 5:4 f.); and at the time of the events of chap. 9 Meribbaal had a young son (vs. 12). Cf. Wade, O. T. Hist. 245.

b. The capture of Rabbah (2 S. 12:26 ff.) is dated by McCurdy c. 980 B.C. Cf. HPM, i. p. 248 (§ 204).

c. Kennedy, who places the accession of David in 1010 B.C., dates the events of 2 Sam. 13 c. 985 B.C. His conclusion is derived from the fact that Amnon and Absalom were born before 1003 B.C. (2 S. 3:2) and in chap. 13 had reached maturity. Cf. his Sam. 31.

d. In 2 Sam. 15:7 the number, 40 years, is evidently too long a period; hence many scholars change it to "four" (= LXX, Luc.; Pesh.; see R. V. marg.), which seems more probable. The numbers "four" and "forty" could easily be confused in the Hebrew.

e. Between the events of 2 Sam. 13 and 15 intervened a term of 11 years (cf. 13:23 = 2 yrs.; vs. 38 = 3 yrs.; 14:28 = 2 yrs.;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 12, 175; cf., however, Kennedy, Sam. in loc.

15:7, R. V. marg. = 4 yrs.). This brings Absalom's rebellion "in or near the last decade of David's reign."

f. The events of 2 Sam. 21:1-14 may be placed chronologically after those of 2 S. 9 with a good deal of probability. The events of 2 Sam. 24 may belong chronologically after those of chap. 12.

(c) i. *Sources for the history of David's reign, — supplementary details.* 2 Sam. 21-24 (21:18-22//1 Chr. 20:4-8; 2 Sam. 23:8-39//1 Chr. 11:10-47; 2 Sam. 24; cf. 1 Chr. 21:1-22:1).

ii. *Poems and psalms more commonly considered Davidic.*

In addition to the elegies already noted (2 Sam. 1:19-27; 3:33 f.; 18:33; cf. pp. 74, ii.; 76, ii.; 78, ii. b.), the following are the more probable Davidic poems.

a. 2 Sam. 23:1-7. The Last Words of David.

b. Psalms 3; 4; 7; 8; 18 (//2 Sam. 22); 23 (?); 24; 32 (?); 101 and 110 (?).

iii. *Composition of the historical material and literary productions.*

a. 2 Sam. 21-24, which interrupt the connection between chap. 20 and 1 Ki. 1-2, it is inferred were placed in their present position as appendices after the books of Samuel and Kings had been separated. The narrative portions of these chapters belong to the early Davidic sources (E?).

b. The following verses are editorial, 2 Sam. 21:2 f. (?); 22:1.

c. The following verses are peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) = 1 C. 11:10, 41b-47; 21:6 f., 16, 26b-22; 1 (also in 21:1, "Satan, etc."); and in vs. 25, "six hundred," "gold, etc.").

d. 2 Sam. 22 is parallel to Ps. 18.

e. The poem in 2 Sam. 23:1-7 is considered by many scholars to-day as non-Davidic. The following reasons are suggested for this view: (a) it is unlikely that David would have described himself as the last clause of vs. 1 does; (b) vss. 6 f. with their eschatological conceptions favor a late date; and (c) cf. the possibility of vs. 1 = an imitation of Num. 24:3, 15. Schmidt favors the time of Hezekiah or Josiah as its date (cf. his Poets, 370. Note "close to the Babylonian exile" or even later = Kent, Songs, etc., 67 f.). Cheyne places it in the Exile (cf. his Origin Psal., 205 f.). By others it is assigned even later to a post-exilic date (cf. Cornill, Introd. 204 f. H. P. Smith, Sam. 381).

On the other hand, an early date for the poem has its defenders; e.g. the time of the United Kingdom though not by David (G. A. Smith, Early Poet. Isr. 95); McCurdy considers the personal groundwork to be undoubtedly Davidic, though its present form may date from a later time. Note its naïveté and unadorned ruggedness of style, which point to its originality (HPM, iii.

p. 52 = § 909). Duhm admits the possibility of Davidic authorship but thinks it uncertain (EBi. iii. 3797).

f. In addition to the following extended note on the more probable Davidic psalms, cf. introductory notes, pp. 68 ff.

(a) Ps. 18 (//2 Sam. 22) is generally regarded as the most certain of the psalms of David, being accepted by those who admit few if any others as his production. The grounds appealed to are: (a) its contents which harmonize best with the period of the early monarchy; and (b) its vigor and freshness of style. It is also maintained (c) that there is nothing in the psalm (not even vss. 27, 49 f., which are generally cited against this view), inconsistent with Davidic authorship. Cf. Ewald, Delitzsch, Kirkpatrick, Davison, etc.

Among the arguments against Davidic authorship are: (a) the detailed theophany (vss. 7-17), it is claimed, is based on prophetic descriptions (cf. Mic. 1; Habak. 3; Ps. 50), which David and his age were incompetent to elaborate; and (b) the self-approbation (vss. 19-26), which seems inappropriate to David, who at least was conscious of his faults. (Cf. HPM, iii. p. 51, § 909.) McCurdy's conclusion is, that if the spirit of this psalm is David's, the elaboration can hardly be his. Cf. Cheyne, Kautzsch, Wellhausen, W. R. Smith, Kent, etc.

(b) Kirkpatrick in his *Psalms* (Camb. B.) assigns more psalms to David, the following being their chronological classification.<sup>1</sup>

*Psalms during David's Residence in Saul's Court*

5. Or possibly before the outbreak of Absalom's rebellion; (cf. however vs. 7 may imply the Temple).

11.

12. Or possibly while David was an outlaw.

*Psalms while David was persecuted by Saul and while an Outlaw*

59? Cf. 1 Sam. 19: 8 ff.

56. Cf. 1 Sam. 21: 10 ff.

54? Cf. 1 Sam. 23: 19 (possibly placed in his mouth by a later psalmist).

16.

17. Cf. 1 Sam. 23: 25 ff.

57? Cf. 1 Sam. 24.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. 24 and 26.

13? Cf. 1 Sam. 27: 1.

35? Possibly sometime during his persecution.

40? and 70 (= 40: 13-17). Close of outlaw life.

<sup>1</sup> For other classifications of Davidic psalms and references, cf. p. 71.

*Psalms after the Kingdom was secured*

15; 24; 101 and 110. Cf. 2 Sam. 6.

18 (//2 Sam. 22). Cf. 2 Sam. 7.

9-10. Cf. 2 Sam. 8.

60. Cf. 2 Sam. 8:13.

32 and 51. Cf. 2 Sam. 12.

41? Before Absalom's rebellion.

*Psalms connected with Absalom's Rebellion*

3 and 63. During the flight; cf. 2 Sam. 15-16.

4. Perhaps at Mahanaim. Cf. 2 Sam. 17:24 ff.

62?

27. At least vss. 1-6; probably before the battle. Cf. 2 Sam. 18.

61? After the victory.

8. Later period of David's life.

*Psalms possibly Davidic, whose Setting cannot be determined*

6?

14? If by David later than Ps. 7.

23? Note against Davidic authorship vs. 6 (= the Temple?). (20-21). If in the time of David, probably not written by him.

*iv. Chronological notes.*

a. The facts recorded in 2 Sam. 21-24 evidently belong to the earlier part of David's reign; e.g. 21:1-14 either before or after 2 Sam. 9. 21:15-22 + 23:8-39 (= its continuation) perhaps after 2 Sam. 5. Chap. 24 perhaps after 2 Sam. 12.

## 3. SOLOMON c. 980-937 B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of Solomon's reign.* = 1 Ki. 2:12-11:43 //1 Chr. 29:23-25; 2 Chr. 1:1-9:31 = [1 Ki. 2:12-46 (with vs. 12 cf. 1 C. 29:23-25); 3:1-15 (vss. 4-15//2 C. 1:1-13); 3:16-4:34 (with 4:26, 21a, cf. 2 C. 9:25 f.); 5 (//2 C. 2); 6 (cf. 2 C. 3:1-14, abridged); 7 (vss. 13-51//2 C. 2:13 f. + 3:15-5:1); 8 (//2 C. 5:2-7:10); 9 (cf. 2 C. 7:11-8:18); 10 (//2 C. 9:1-28 and 1:14-17); 11 (vss. 41-43//2 C. 9:29-31).<sup>1</sup>

*ii. Literature possibly Solomonic.*

a. The nucleus of (a) Prov. 10:1-22:16 and (b) chaps. 25-29. Cf. pp. 116 ff.

b. Psalms 2; 45 and 1(?) according to Kirkpatrick. Cf. Camb. B. in loc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 1 Ki. 1:1-2:11, for the events leading to Solomon's accession.

iii. *Composition of the historical sources and literary notes.*

a. For 1 Ki. 2:12-46 as a part of the early Davidic narratives included with 2 Sam. 9-20, cf. p. 78, iii. a.

b. The non-Deuteronomic (and other non-editorial) material in 1 Ki. 3-11 may be designated as pre-Deuteronomic. It is a question among scholars to what extent it belongs to the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (11:41) and to what extent to Prophetical narratives. According to Kautzsch (LOT, 70, 240) and Kittel (Hist. Hebrs. ii. 54 ff.) it is based largely upon the former. According to Driver, 3:4-13, 15, 16-28 and 10:1-13 (possibly also 5:1-5 and 8:15-19) = Prophetical narratives, relatively early. LOT, 191.

c. According to some scholars, 1 Ki. 6-7 were derived from the Temple archives.

d. The following is the Deuteronomic (R<sup>D</sup>) material in 1 Ki. 2:12-11:43 = 2:27(?); 3:2 f., 14; 4:29-34(?); 5:1-5 (in the main); 6:7, 11-13 (14) (possibly also vss. 18-22\*, 28, 29-30, 32, 35, 38\*); 8 (based to some extent probably on earlier material); 9:1-9, 19-21(?); 10:11 f. (?), 14 f. (?), 23-25, 27; 11:1-13, 32-39 (or 29-39) in part, 41-43. For variation in vss. assigned to R<sup>D</sup>, cf. Comms., Intros., etc. [The following is possibly R<sup>D2</sup>; 1 Ki. 4:20-26; 6:1(?); 8:44-51 (or 46-49?); 9:6-9(?). Note in vss. 24 f. in 4:20-26, the expression "beyond the River" = west of the Euphrates (cf. Ezra 4:10 ff., etc.), implying the standpoint of one living in Babylonia; hence as late at least as the Exile.] For variations cf. Intros., Comms., etc.

e. The Priestly editorial additions (R<sup>P</sup>) in 1 Ki. 2:12-11:43 = 6:11-14(?) (cf. above n. d, under R<sup>D</sup>); in vs. 16 ("the most holy place"); 7:48-50(?); 8:4b-5, 6 ("the most holy place") and traces in vs. 1. See pp. 267 f., v. k.

f. The following material is peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) — 1 C. 29:23-25 (largely); 2 C. 1:1 f., 3b-6a (also other changes in vss. 1-13); 2:17 (also additions and changes in vss. 4-7 and 9-15); 3:1b, 14 (also in vss. 5-9); 4:1, 8 f.; 5:11b-13a; 6:13, 40-42; 7:1-3, 6, 11-15\*; 8:3, 4b, 5\*, 11b, 12-16\*; 9:18\*, 29. Note in 2 C. 1:15 ("and gold").

Notice 2 C. 2:13 f. = // to 1 Ki. 7:13 f. with Ch. additions.

g. The LXX of 1 Ki. 8:12 f. (which is placed in vs. 53 in that version), gives a different (poetical) reading, which is attributed to "the Book of the Song." As the Hebrew words for "the song" and "Jashar" are much alike, it is inferred by many that this poetical fragment was taken from the "Book of Jashar" (cf. on this book, p. 43, iv. b.). Cf., e.g. LOT, 192. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 124, 433 ff., etc.

h. With 2 Chr. 6:41 f., cf. Ps. 132:8 ff.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. According to Biblical chronology the length of Solomon's reign was 40 years (1 Ki. 11 : 42). This, however, may be a round number indicating an indefinite period. Cf. Ap. C., p. 334 (b). The dates given above depend upon those adopted approximately for the reigns of Saul and David. Other dates suggested for Solomon's reign vary from 977 to c. 960 B.C. for its beginning and from 937 to c. 930 B.C. for its close.

b. The Pharaoh, whose daughter Solomon married (1 Ki. 3 : 1 ; cf. 9 : 16) is generally supposed to have been Pasebchanu II, the last king of the twenty-first dynasty which ended c. 950 B.C. Breasted, however, identifies him with Shishak (Sheshonk), cf. below n. f. See his *Hist. Egypt*, 362.

c. For the date of Hiram of Tyre referred to in 1 Ki. 5 : 1 ff., cf. p. 77, iii. b.

d. For the possibility of the number 480 in 1 Ki. 6 : 1 being a part of an artificial scheme of chronology, cf. Ap. C., pp. 341 f.

e. According to 1 Ki. 6 : 37 f. the Temple was begun in the 4th year of Solomon's reign and completed in the 11th. On the basis of the chronology adopted above the dates = c. 976-c. 970 B.C. Other years suggested for its completion vary from c. 963 to c. 950 B.C.

f. Shishak, king of Egypt, referred to in 1 Ki. 11 : 40 ; cf. 14 : 25 f., undoubtedly means Shoshenk (or Sheshonk) the first king of the twenty-second dynasty, which began c. 950 B.C. His reign lasted 21 years, i.e. c. 950-c. 930 B.C. The dates given in Breasted's *Hist. Egypt*, 360 ff., 433, are c. 945-924 B.C.

v. *The following additional literature is assigned by many scholars to the period of the United Kingdom, especially the reigns of David and Solomon, i.e. c. 1020-937 B.C.*

a. The Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49 : 2-27. See pp. 72 f.

b. The Song of Triumph at the Red Sea, Ex. 15 : 1-18.<sup>1</sup>

c. The Balaam oracles (in the main) in Num. 23 : 7-24 : 19.<sup>2</sup>

d. The Book of the Wars of Jehovah (cf. Num. 21 : 14 f.).<sup>3</sup>

e. The Book of Jashar, of which the following portions have been preserved, Josh. 10 : 12b-13a (see p. 41, ii.) ; 2 Sam. 1 : 19-27 (see p. 74, ii.) and possibly 1 Ki. 8 : 12 f. (LXX, cf. p. 82, iii. g).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, Ex. 131. For later dates assigned, cf. pp. 197, ii. 5. d ; 265, iv. 6. c. See also note pp. 35 f., ii. b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 43 (§ 895). Kautzsch, LOT, 16 f., 177. G. A. Smith, *Early Poet. Isr.* 71, etc. Cf. p. 41, iv. c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 50 (§ 906). Kautzsch, LOT, 2, 15, 177, etc. See also pp. 40 f., iv. b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. McCurdy and Kautzsch, *Ibid.* See also p. 43, iv. b.

f. 2 Samuel, chaps. 9–20 + 1 Kings, chaps. 1–2 (in part).<sup>1</sup>

*Some of the other portions of literature assigned to this period are:—*

g. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:22–23:19, 20–33), at least the usage embodied in it.<sup>2</sup>

h. The short poems on Jacob and Esau in Gen. 25:23; 27:27–29, 39–40.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Moore, EBi, ii. 2075. McFadyen, Introd. 91 f. Kennedy, Sam. 23 f., etc. See also p. 48; cf. 78, iii. a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 174 f., 499. Cf. Cornill, Introd. 131 f., 537 = early times of Divided Kingdom. See also pp. 37 f., iv. b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schmidt, Poets, 301 ff.

## VII. A. THE PERIOD OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

The history and literature relating to the period of the Divided Kingdom are found in the books of Kings, Chronicles; historical and biographical sections in Isaiah and Jeremiah; the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39 (in part), Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Ezekiel (in part); collections of Proverbs (?); Deuteronomy; psalms (?) and various poems. The most of these literary productions had their origin in this period, especially the prophetical writings, Deuteronomy and the sources of the books of Kings.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

A. 1 Kings 12-2 Kings 25:21.<sup>2</sup>

B. 2 Chronicles 10:1-36:21.<sup>3</sup>

C. Isaiah 36-39 // to 2 Ki. 18:17-20:19 (except Isa. 38:9-20). This section in Isaiah was derived by the compiler of this prophetical book from the book of Kings.

D. Jeremiah 52:1-27; 38:28b-39:9. These sections in Jeremiah are parallel to 2 Ki. 24:18-25:21, and were derived by the compiler of this prophetical book from Kings.

E. Cf. also such biographical sections in Jeremiah as chaps. 26-29; 34-38, etc., the authorship of which has been assigned with a good deal of probability to Baruch. See p. 193, 3. *a*.

### 2. PROPHETICAL WRITINGS

The importance of the prophetical writings in supplementing the historical books, and thus serving to bring the differ-

<sup>1</sup> For other literature assigned to this period by different scholars, cf. pp. 134-166.

<sup>2</sup> For introductory notes on the structure and sources of the books of Kings, and for 1 Ki. 1-11, see United Kingdom, pp. 55 ff., 77 f., 81 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For notes on the structure and sources of Chronicles, and for 1 Chr. 10-2 Chr. 9, see United Kingdom, pp. 63 ff., 74 ff. For 1 Chr. 1-9, cf. 304, iv. *i*.



ent periods and occasions to which they belong into clearer light, has been referred to previously.<sup>1</sup>

This is due to the fact that the Hebrew prophets were more than predictors. Primarily they were great preachers of righteousness to the people of their own day, and as such they dealt with the material, social and political aspects of the nation's affairs, as well as with its moral and religious condition. Judged from the modern standpoint they were social reformers and statesmen as well as religious leaders. Their messages were generally given first of all orally, and in so far as they have been preserved are found in our canonical, prophetic books.

Compare, however, Ezekiel and Zechariah 1-8, etc., which bear the marks of written rather than spoken prophecy.<sup>2</sup>

Notice also that no collections of prophetic messages from such great prophets as Samuel, Elijah and Elisha have been preserved. Whatever utterances are attributed to them are found in the historical books of Samuel and Kings.<sup>3</sup>

In reference to the chronological arrangement of the prophetic messages the following facts need to be taken into consideration : —

*a.* In many instances probably the prophet's utterances were not committed to writing till some time after their deliverance; this being done either by the prophet himself, or by his disciples, or possibly in some cases by some one more removed, *i.e.* either outside the immediate prophetic circle, or later in time. Hence these prophetic messages, as they have come down to us, often represent abstracts or synopses of the original discourses, or possibly in some instances an approximate reproduction of them.

The directions of Jeremiah to Baruch, his disciple (Jer. 36 : 4 ff.) have an important bearing on this point. Baruch was directed to write the prophetic messages of Jeremiah, extending over 23 years (vss. 1 f.). These in our present book of Jeremiah form about 12 chaps., *i.e.*, an average of a chapter for each two years. A natural conclusion from this is, that in a chapter or section we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement in the Preface, pp. x f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 380 ff. (§§ 1350 ff.). Gray, Introd. 169 f.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that, in a number of the prophecies, sections of biographical or autobiographical character are also found; *e.g.* Jer. 26-29; 34, etc. See p. 85, 1. *E*.

have the summation of Jeremiah's characteristic teaching and public utterances, extending over a considerable period. It seems reasonable to believe, therefore, that the same fact holds good in reference to many other prophecies.<sup>1</sup>

b. Many of the prophecies have chronological headings, giving the general period, such as reigns of kings, to which they belong (*e.g.* Amos 1:1; Hosea 1:1, etc.). As in the case of the Psalms and Proverbs, they were probably added by the editors and compilers of the different collections of prophecies, and not by the prophets themselves.

c. The chapters and sections in some of the prophecies are not arranged in chronological order, especially Isa. 1-39 and Jeremiah. Compare for example Isa. 6, which describes the prophet's call, but it is preceded by chaps. 1-5, containing messages subsequent to that date.

d. Occasionally anonymous prophecies, and fragments of prophetic discourses of later date, are found attached to well-known prophetic writings of earlier times or inserted in them. Cf. Isa. 40-55; Isa. 56-66 and Isa. 13:1-14:23, etc.

e. Another question bearing on the chronological order of the prophetic writings is the probability of earlier productions in some, and perhaps many, instances being supplemented in later times, either to modify or adapt the original message to new conditions, "or for other purposes of edification." For example, an original message predicting punishment to a nation being fulfilled, and thus its object being served, might well be supplemented by words of hope and promise for the future to meet the new situation.

Israel had "no idea of what we call 'literary property.' The question was not in what terms a prophet of Jehovah had spoken in former times, but whether those terms were still fitted to fulfil the religious purpose which he once meant to serve. If this did not appear to be the case, it was regarded as not only perfectly right, but as a sacred *duty*, to modify the original form of expression, to give a milder turn to what was too harsh and no longer applicable to a differently constituted age, to expand and state more clearly what was too concise or obscure, to introduce matter

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further Kautzsch, LOT, 49 f. Sanders, etc., Prophs. i. 11 f. Gray, Intro. 171 ff., etc. Note, however, Peake's conclusion that "it does not follow that the whole of Jeremiah's utterances" (*i.e.* up to this date) "found a place in the roll." See his Jer. i. 57 ff.; ii. 151 ff.

that was wanting in the original but indispensable for a later age." <sup>1</sup>

Leading Old Testament scholars to-day believe that there are numerous insertions such as these, and modifications of the earlier prophecies. The extent, however, to which such revision was carried is a point upon which there is wide divergence of opinion. The most important additions of this character, according to the opinion of various scholars, are noted in this volume and are grouped on pages 306-308.

It may be added that the fact of such additions does not affect the question of inspiration, for the problem which is presented for decision is not so much one of authenticity as of authorship.

"But whether a Book be authentic, in the technical meaning of the word, is of small interest compared with its authenticity as vision, as truth and as the revelation of God." <sup>2</sup>

In view of these facts the chronological headings of the pre-exilic prophecies need to be tested and supplemented by the data furnished by the different chapters and sections themselves, just as in the case of determining the dates of particular psalms and sections in the book of Proverbs (cf. pp. 68 ff., 116 ff.). Owing, however, to the clearer historical allusions in the prophecies, and the fact that the language and conceptions of undoubted portions can be used as a basis of comparison, conclusions usually of greater certainty than in the case of the psalms and proverbs can be reached.

*A. Amos.* This is the first of the written prophecies. Amos prophesied according to the title (1:1) in the reigns of Uzziah of Judah (782?-c. 740 B.C.) and Jeroboam II of Israel (781-740 B.C.). This is confirmed by reference to Jeroboam in the prophecy (7:10 f.). The further chronological statement of the heading, "two years before the earthquake," does not help in determining the exact date, since no allusion is found to it in the historical records of the time. Cf. p. 334, n. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch in HDB, extra vol. 671b. See also Gray, *Introd.* 177. Moore, *LOT*, 166 f. Note also the discriminating discussion in *LOT*, 306 f.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 217.

This earthquake is also mentioned in a late prophetic writing (cf. Zech. 14:5) as occurring in the reign of Uzziah. There may be also a reference to it in Isa. 9:10.

It is quite possible that in 8:9 there is an allusion to the total eclipse of the sun, which is mentioned in Assyrian records as occurring June 15, 763 B.C. The record of plagues in the same source as prevailing in the years 765 and 759 B.C. may also be referred to in Amos 4:10.<sup>1</sup>

From the references (a) to Israel's supremacy over the land from Lebanon to the Dead Sea (6:14b); (b) the destruction of Gath by Uzziah (recorded in 2 Chr. 26:6), which, it is claimed, is presupposed in Am. 1:6-8, where this city is not mentioned (cf. also 6:8); (c) Jeroboam's conquest of Moab (2 Ki. 14:25), which is implied in Am. 2:3, where "judge" and not "king" is mentioned as the ruler of Moab;<sup>2</sup> (d) the prosperous condition of the Kingdom reflected in the prophecy (cf. 3:15; 6:3 ff.); and (e) the conscious feeling of security from outside attack, — the prophecy has been assigned to the later rather than the earlier part of Jeroboam's reign, after he had waged his successful wars (2 Ki. 14:25).

Some scholars think there is a reference to the conquest of Syria in 6:13 (cf. 2 Ki. 14:28), according to the emendation of the text by Grätz — "we have taken Lo-Debar and Karnaim."<sup>3</sup>

The prophecy accordingly is generally dated between 760 and 750 B.C.

Though Amos was a native of Judah (1:1, cf. 7:12 f.) his mission was to the Northern Kingdom, where his prophecies were uttered (7:15; cf. with 7:10).

The authenticity of 9:8(8b)-15 is questioned, as well as a number of scattered verses, by many scholars. See further, notes p. 142, iii. c. d.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Comms. in loc.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, is by no means certain, as the term "judge" is sometimes applied to a king (cf. Mic. 5:1; see also 2 Sam. 8:15, etc.), and as it is not sure from 2 Ki. 14:25 that Moab was included in Jeroboam's conquests. See Comms. in loc.

<sup>3</sup> See Comms. in loc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Amos, LOT, 313 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 240 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 50 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 188 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 329 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 210 ff. Moore, LOT, 194 ff. HDB, i. 85 ff. (Taylor). EBi, i. 147 ff., iii. 3888 f. (Cheyne).

*B. Hosea.* According to the heading (1:1) this collection of prophecies dates from the period represented in the kingdom of Judah by the reigns of Uzziah to Hezekiah [c. 782–c. 690 (?) B.C.], and in the kingdom of Israel by the reign of Jeroboam II (781–740 B.C.). These two equations of time, it will be noticed, are only partially parallel. This inexactness is doubtless due to the fact that the title (1:1) is editorial.

This discrepancy in the parallel dates is not necessarily so marked as it at first sight seems to be, as the first date given (the reigns of Uzziah to Hezekiah) does not necessarily mean that Hosea's prophetic activity extended over *all* the time included in these reigns. A career embracing the latter part of Uzziah's reign and the beginning of Hezekiah's would be sufficient to justify such a general editorial method of dating. It is very certain, however, that none of Hosea's messages contained in this prophecy belong as late as Hezekiah's reign, even though this king's accession is placed earlier than the year to which it is assigned in this volume (*i.e.* c. 719 B.C.). See, however, the view p. 91, n. 2.

The prophecy itself, which has two clearly defined sections, viz. chaps. 1–3 and 4–14, furnishes facts from which the dates can be more definitely determined. The first division, chaps. 1–3, mainly in the form of narrative, belongs clearly to the reign of Jeroboam II as (*a*) there is the same general background as in Amos, viz. material prosperity and social evils (cf. especially 2:2 ff. with Amos 2:6 ff.; 5:11 ff.; 6:3 ff., etc.); and (*b*) the house of Jehu is still reigning (1:4), which was terminated with Jeroboam's son and successor, who was assassinated after a reign of six months (2 Ki. 15:8–12).

From the description of captivity (2:9 ff.), which is represented apparently as more impending than in Amos (cf. Amos 5:27), it is generally inferred that this portion of the

Intros. in Comms. on Amos, espec. Int. Crit. (W. R. Harper); Camb. B. (Driver); Expos. B. = Bk. of XII, i. (G. A. Smith); Cen. B. (Horton). Bennett, Primer, etc., 17 ff. Kent, Sermons, etc., 14 f., 63 ff., 478 f. W. R. Smith, Prophs. Isr.<sup>2</sup> xv ff., 120 ff. McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 344 ff. (§§ 302 ff.). Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 83 ff. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. 320 ff. Kent, Divided Kingd. 79 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 211 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 28, 354 f. Farrar, Minor Prophs. 35 ff. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 37 ff. Sanders, etc., Prophs. i. 23 ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 151 f. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 105 ff.

prophecy belongs later in Jeroboam's reign, and so may be dated with probability c. 750-740 B.C.

It is the opinion of Davidson, however, that chaps. 1-3, though referring to events in the early part of the prophet's history, may have been composed at a later time as an introduction to chaps. 4-14.<sup>1</sup>

The section chaps. 4-14 is usually assigned to the stormy period following the death of Jeroboam II (cf. 2 Ki. 15: 8 ff.) for the following reasons: (a) the social evils depicted in Amos and Hosea 1-3 have evidently reached a much acuter stage, and captivity is at hand (cf. 4: 12 ff.; 8: 5 f.; 9: 15, etc.); and (b) there are allusions to the rapid dynastic changes, corresponding to what is known to have been the condition in Israel after Jeroboam's reign (cf. 7: 7; 8: 4; 10: 3, etc., with 2 Ki. 15: 10 ff.).

On the other hand, it seems quite certain that chaps. 4-14 belong before the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, c. 735 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 16: 5 f.; Isa. 7: 1 ff.), as no reference is made in these chapters to it. This conclusion is also confirmed by allusions to Gilead as still intact (5: 1; 6: 8, etc.), whose inhabitants and those of Galilee were deported by Tiglath-pileser IV in 734-733 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 15: 29). Assyria is here described not as an enemy (as it became in connection with the Syro-Ephraimitish league; cf. 2 Ki. 15: 29; 16: 7 ff.), but as a false source of support (5: 13; 7: 11; 8: 9, etc.), which answers well to this time, when there were rival Egyptian and Assyrian parties in the Kingdom.

These chapters accordingly may be dated with much certainty c. 740-736 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The allusions to the king of Assyria (?) as "Jareb" (5: 13; 10: 6), and to the capture of Beth-Arbel by Shalman (10: 14), are too obscure and uncertain to have any definite bearing on the date of the prophecy. Some scholars think the allusion in 5: 13, etc. ("Jareb") is to the tribute paid by Menahem to Assyria in 738 B.C. (2 Ki. 15: 19 f.).<sup>3</sup>

From (a) reference to Israel as "the land" (1: 2); (b) to its

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 420. Gray, *Introd.* 205 f.

<sup>2</sup> While this is the commonly accepted conclusion of the date of chaps. 4-14, cf. the view that these chaps. reflect the condition of Israel between 730-722 B.C. in Whitehouse, *Isa. i.* pp. 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Comms. in loc.

king as "our king" (7:5); (c) locations mentioned which are those of the Northern Kingdom (5:1, 8; 4:15; 1:4, etc.); and (d) the social conditions described, together with the prophet's emotion expressed over the impending destruction of the kingdom (e.g. 11:8 ff.), it is inferred that Hosea was a native of Israel. Compare also the fact that the allusions to Judah are incidental (e.g. 4:15; 5:5, 10, 12, etc.). But many of these verses concerning Judah are questioned by some scholars.

The authenticity of 14:1-8 + vs. 9 is questioned by a number of scholars; also scattered verses through the prophecy. Cf. further notes, pp. 143, iii. *e. f.*; 145, iii. *g.*<sup>1</sup>

*C. Isaiah*, chapters 1-39. The heading (1:1) places Isaiah's prophetic activity in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah. Only the last year of Uzziah's reign is included in this period, as Isaiah's ministry began in that year, c. 740 B.C. (cf. Isa. 6:1).

The latest date in the prophet's career which can with certainty be determined is 701 B.C., viz. the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib (cf. 2 Ki. 18:13 ff.; Isa. 36 f.) to which a considerable group of Isaiah's prophecies belongs. It is uncertain whether any are later than this date though it is not impossible that some few may be.

Some scholars for example assign chap. 23 to c. 685 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The fact has already been referred to that the prophecies of Isaiah are not arranged at present in chronological order (see p. 87, c.). The following may be adopted as convenient historical divisions, with the chapters and sections which, with probability, are to be assigned to each.

1. *Prophetic messages belonging to the reign of Jotham and*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Hosea, LOT, 301 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 234 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 52 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 178 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 320 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 204 ff. Moore, LOT, 188 ff. HDB, ii. 419 ff. (Davidson). EBi, ii. 2119 ff. (W. R. Smith and Marti); iii. 3889 f. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Hosea*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (W. R. Harper); *Camb. B.* (Cheyne); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, i. (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.* (Horton). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 19 f. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 15 f., 81 ff. W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.*<sup>2</sup> xvii ff., 144 ff., 154 ff., 406 f. (= 404 f., old ed.). McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 354 ff. (§§ 312 ff.). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 109 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 323 ff. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 83 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 221 ff. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 27, 354 f. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 47 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 69 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs. i.* 47 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 153 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 357 ff. (§§ 771 ff.).

*the beginning of the reign of Ahaz* (c. 740–735 B.C.). Chaps. 6; 2–5; 9:8–10:4; 17:1–11.

a. Chap. 6 belongs to the year of Uzziah's death, c. 740 B.C. (vs. 1).

b. Chaps. 2–5, as a whole, may be placed with probability at the end of Jotham's reign and the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, on the following grounds: (a) the reference to "ships of Tarshish" (2:16), a term applied to vessels engaged in commerce, implies that Judah was still in possession of the sea-port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah. This port was lost soon afterwards, c. 735 B.C., in connection with the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion (cf. 2 Ki. 16:6 with 2 Ki. 14:22). (b) The descriptions of prosperity (2:7 ff., cf. 3:16 ff., 5:8 ff.) harmonize with the period before the invasion of the allied forces; also the threat of coming judgment (2:10 ff., 3:1 ff., etc.) implies that it has not yet come. And (c) the allusion to the king as a tyrannical child, ruled over in turn by the women of the harem (3:12), points naturally to the close of the vigorous reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, and to the inefficient rule of Ahaz (cf. his reign 2 Ki. 16).

c. Chaps. 9:8–10:4 may with probability be placed here, as on the whole they harmonize better with this period than any other: (a) the Northern Kingdom's proud and confident spirit (9:9 f.) naturally indicates a date before the Syro-Ephraimitish war resulted disastrously to it (cf. 2 Ki. 16:7 ff. with 15:29). (b) The period of civil strife following the death of Jeroboam II seems to be referred to in 9:18–21 (cf. 2 Ki. 15:8 ff.); and (c) the mention of Syria as an enemy of Israel (9:12) also points to a time before 735 B.C.

This view of the date of this section is based on the interpretation of the tenses of 9:8 ff. as referring to the past (cf. R. V. marg.), not to a prediction of future judgment.<sup>1</sup>

d. Chap. 17:1–11 belongs also to this time: (a) Damascus (= Syria) and Ephraim (= Israel) are combined in the prophetic description (vs. 3); and (b) Damascus is standing, hence it must be prior to 732 B.C. when it was captured by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Skinner, Isa. i. 77 f. For the view that the reference is to the future, cf. detailed discussion, Gray, Isa. in loc.



Assyria (2 Ki. 16:9). As no mention is made of any act of hostility against Judah by the two powers, the early days of the coalition answers well the situation, *i.e.* c. 735 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Prophetic messages in the reign of Ahaz, especially in connection with the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion* (2 Ki. 16:5 ff.), c. 735 B.C.

Chaps. 7:1-9:7. The date of this section is clearly indicated in 7:1 ff. Parts of this section, especially in chaps. 8 and 9:2-7 are regarded by a number of scholars as later additions. Cf. p. 147, iii. d.

Chap. 1 may also possibly belong to this time; vss. 7-9 referring to the invasion by the allied powers.<sup>2</sup> But on the whole it seems more probable that it reflects the invasion of 701 B.C., by Sennacherib.

3. *Prophetic messages during the remaining years of the reign of Ahaz*, c. 735-719 (?) B.C. Chaps. 28:1-6; 23.

a. Chap. 28:1-6 belongs clearly before 722 (721) B.C., the date of the downfall of the Northern Kingdom (2 Ki. 17), as Samaria is represented as still standing. It may accordingly be placed c. 725 B.C.

b. Chap. 23, against Tyre, is referred by many scholars to the siege of that city by Shalmaneser V from 727-722 B.C. as related by Josephus (Ant. ix. 14, § 2), which seems a reasonable occasion to which to assign it.

Vs. 13 has an important bearing on the date of the chapter, *i.e.* the reference to the destruction of the Chaldeans. This might refer to the time of Sargon (710-709 B.C.), or Sennacherib (703 B.C.), for at both of those times the Chaldeans were in revolt against Assyria. The text, however, of this verse is regarded by many scholars as uncertain. Some authorities read "Canaanites" instead of "Chaldeans," by a slight alteration of the text, and refer it to the Tyrians themselves and their impending fate, either as above (727-722 B.C.) or later in 701 B.C.

McCurdy considers the chap. as a whole to belong c. 685 B.C., about 20 years before the capture of Tyre by the Assyrian king Asshurbanipal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kent includes vss. 12-14 also in this date. Cf. his Sermons, etc., 119.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 350 f., 413 f. (§§ 309 and Ap., n. 9). See also Skinner, Isa. i. p. 3; Whitehouse, Isa. i. 65, 88 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, ii. 358 ff. (§§ 772 f.). Cf. the view that chap. 23 was from a disciple of Isa., c. 668 B.C. (Whitehouse, Isa. in loc.)

For the view that vss. 15-18 are a late addition to the chap. cf. p. 147, iii. e.<sup>1</sup>

4. *Prophetic messages during the reign of Hezekiah* (719 (?) ff.), especially the years 705-701 B.C. (= from the accession of Sennacherib of Assyria to the invasion of Judea (cf. 2 Ki. 18-19). Chaps. 14:28-32; 20; 15-16; 19; 21:11-17 (?); 10:5-12:6; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 18; 28:7-33:24; 22:15-25; 1; 22:1-14.

a. Chap. 14:28-32, according to the heading (vs. 28), belongs to the year of the death of king Ahaz, 719 (?) B.C. The Biblical dating is here followed.

This section, however, has been assigned to other occasions, on the ground that the expression, "the rod that smote thee is broken" (vs. 29), refers to the death of some Assyrian king, who had oppressed the Philistines, e.g. the death of Shalmaneser V (722-21 B.C.), or more likely Sargon's death (705 B.C.), who had defeated the king of Gaza in 720 B.C. and captured Ashdod in 711 B.C. His death might very naturally be the occasion of the rejoicings, which, Isaiah declares in these verses, are ill-timed in view of a greater tyrant (vs. 29b) who is to arise, i.e. Sennacherib.

b. Chap. 20, according to the heading (vs. 1), belongs to the year that Sargon sent his army against Ashdod. From Assyrian records this date is known to be 711 B.C.

c. Chaps. 15-16. The inference from 16:13 is that "the word," spoken "in time past," refers to the preceding section (15:1-16:12), which accordingly belongs to an earlier date, — 16:13 f. forming a supplement to it. In reference to the dates of these respective portions there is much uncertainty. The majority of scholars regard the main section (15:1-16:12) as a message from some earlier prophet, which Isaiah adopted, and to which he added the supplementary words, 16:13 f. The date of 16:13 f. is conjectural. A not-improbable occasion is c. 711 B.C., when it is known, from Assyrian records, that the Moabites were in rebellion against the Assyrians.

The conclusion that 15:1-16:12 is non-Isaianic is based espe-

<sup>1</sup> Note the view that chap. 23 as a whole is exilic (Wade, Isa. in loc.). Cf. also Cheyne's conclusion that it was written in the spirit of Isaiah, or that it is one of his prophecies re-edited in post-exilic times. (EBi, ii. 2197; his *Introd. Isa.* 139 ff., 406; his *Isa.* (SBOT), 18 f., 148, etc.)

cially on (a) the pathetic, elegiac strain of the section, which does not resemble Isaiah's writings; (b) the expression of purely human sympathy towards Moab; (c) "poverty of religious ideas"; and (d) the vocabulary and "style," which "is about as unlike Isaiah's as could be" (cf. Num. 21: 27-30).

Hitzig's view that it refers to the conquest of Moab by Jeroboam II, — implied in the extent of his dominion (2 Ki. 14: 25; cf. Am. 6: 14), — has been accepted by many since.<sup>1</sup>

d. Chap. 19. This chapter contains two dissimilar sections, viz. vss. 1-15 and vss. 16-25. It is impossible to determine definitely the date of the first section, owing to the vagueness of the historical allusions. The reference to the "cruel lord" (vs. 4) is generally supposed to mean an Assyrian conqueror, and that Isaiah had in mind an impending invasion of Egypt by that power. If so, then this section might be dated: (a) c. 720 B.C. when Sargon defeated the Egyptians at Raphia; or (b) 711 B.C. when he again repulsed them (cf. the prophet's similar message on that occasion in chap. 20); or (c) even later, c. 702 B.C., just before the invasion of Sennacherib, when the Jewish leaders were looking to Egypt for help. This last date is favored by many scholars (*e.g.* Ewald, Dillmann, etc.). Driver considers the first occasion "plausible."<sup>2</sup> The other date 711 B.C. seems to others equally probable.<sup>3</sup>

The tyrant alluded to (vs. 4) may possibly refer to some Egyptian ruler, and the date be after fear from Assyrian invasion had for the time passed, *i.e.* after 701 B.C. From this standpoint the import of the prediction is that punishment is to come to Egypt from within.<sup>4</sup>

In reference to the dating of the second section, vss. 16-25 there is much difference of opinion. While the Isaianic authorship of these verses has its defenders (*e.g.* W. R. Smith), the general trend of critical opinion is in favor of a much later time; cf. the favorable attitude towards Egypt and Assyria, vss. 21 ff., which is in marked contrast to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gray's view that the main prophecy and the appendix are subsequent to the conquest of Moab by the Nabateans in the 5th cen. B.C.; see his *Isa.* in loc.; also Cornill, *Introd.* 273 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LOT, 215.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, ii. 260 ff. (§§ 654 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skinner, *Isa.* i. 144.

prophet's views of these nations frequently expressed (30 : 1 ff., 7 ; 31 : 1 ff. ; 10 : 5 ff., etc.).

Skinner thinks if Isaiah is the author the section belongs to the later years of his life, but he considers the balance of evidence in favor of a post-exilic date, at a time before the diffusion of the Greek language.<sup>1</sup>

e. Chap. 21 : 11-17. The historical setting of the messages contained in these verses, relating to Edom and certain Arab tribes, is very uncertain. In 711 B.C. Edom, Moab, Judah and some of the Philistine cities are known, from Assyrian inscriptions, to have been engaged in conspiracy against that power, and so conjecturally this section may be assigned to this date.

Many scholars, however, consider these vss. exilic along with vss. 1-10. See pp. 177 f.

f. Chaps. 10 : 5-12 : 6. The date of this section is derived from the references in 10 : 5 ff. and the content of the passage, viz. an impending invasion of Judah by Assyria. The mention of Samaria (vs. 9) among the captured cities places it after 722-21 B.C. By some writers it is considered to have been uttered soon after that occasion. By others it is dated c. 711 B.C., at the time of Sargon's military operations in the West (cf. chap. 20). Since the invasion by Assyria is depicted as imminent, it may with more probability be placed in the time of (or shortly preceding) Sennacherib's invasion, 701 B.C.

There is a growing conviction that different portions of these chaps. are later additions, especially 11 : 10-16 and chap. 12. A number would also include 11 : 1-9 as a later (exilic) insertion.<sup>2</sup>

g. Chap. 14 : 24-27. This fragment, relating to the destruction of Assyria in Judah, which is unconnected in its present position, is thought by some writers to have formed originally the conclusion of chap. 10 : 5-15. Whether or not this is the logical connection of this section, the time of the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.; cf. Whitehouse = different post-exilic dates (except vss. 19-22 = Isaianic not improbably), vss. 23 ff. coming from the Greek period. Whitehouse and Wade (?) also assign vss. 1-15 to post-exilic times (cf. their Comms. on Isa. in loc.), in this conclusion agreeing with Cheyne. Cf. his Introd. Isa. 99 f., 110; EBi, ii. 2198; his Isa. (SBOT), 97 f., 188 ff. Cornill, Introd. 273 f., 541.

<sup>2</sup> For this point of view cf. especially Cheyne, Introd. Isa. and Int. Crit. Comm. (Gray) in loc. See also notes pp. 152 f., v. f. g.

invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. seems a likely historical setting for it.

*h.* Chap. 17: 12-14. This is another fragment predicting the destruction of the Assyrians. While there is nothing in the verses to point to their exact date, this same occasion is a very probable one.

Some take this section as referring to the destruction of the Syro-Ephraimitish league, and hence belonging to the time of the preceding part of the chapter (vss. 1-11), *i.e.* c. 735 B.C. The opinion, however, that the Assyrians are meant is the one usually held.

*i.* Chap. 18. This chapter also refers to the destruction of the Assyrians. It contains an announcement to ambassadors from Ethiopia (vss. 1 ff.), who presumably were sent to Judah to plan for measures of defence against their common foe. This same occasion (c. 702 B.C.) answers best the situation implied in the message.

This chapter has also been assigned to c. 711 B.C., a warning against Egyptian (= Ethiopian dynasty) alliance, at the time of Sargon's invasion.<sup>1</sup>

*j.* Chaps. 28-33. Of this section, chap. 28: 1-6 has already been considered (cf. p. 94. 3, *a.*). The remaining portions devoted largely to Judah's relation to Assyria, with denunciations of the policy of trusting in Egypt (*e.g.* 30: 1 ff.; 31: 1 ff.; cf. 28: 14 ff.; 29: 15 ff.), most naturally refer to the period 705-01 B.C., when negotiations between Judah and Egypt were being carried on.

Some scholars think that the date of 28: 1-6 determines at least the remainder of the chapter, and possibly the whole section (28-33). This, however, is not probable. These chapters as a whole seem naturally to reflect the same situation. The intrigues on the part of Egypt, so far as is known, were never carried to the extent indicated in these chapters before the time of Sennacherib (705 B.C. and the following years). Note also the fact that the judgment of Jehovah is described as imminent (29: 1 ff.; 32: 10).

Several portions of this section have been considered non-Isaianic, especially chap. 33. Note the apocalyptic character of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 261, 418, Ap., n. 4 (§ 655, etc.).

the description (vss. 3 ff.); and the prophet's identification of himself with the people (vs. 2), which has no parallel in the clearly authentic writings of Isaiah. Accordingly it has been assigned to the Persian, or even Maccabean times (Duhm). Others (Cen. B.) date it from the close of the Kingdom (except vss. 14-16), based perhaps on an oracle of the prophet. Cf. the view that the bulk of the chap. is from Isa. plus later additions, espec. vss. 20-24 (Wade, Isa. in loc.).<sup>1</sup>

k. Chap. 22:15-25. This is a prediction of the downfall of Shebna, who is to be succeeded by Eliakim. This is commonly assigned to this same period, but it belongs in it clearly before 701 B.C., as in that year this prediction had been fulfilled (cf. 2 Ki. 18:18; 19:2, where Eliakim is represented as holding the office, which was occupied at the time of this prophetic message by Shebna).

l. Chap. 1. This chapter, which seems clearly to have been written during some invasion of the land [cf. vs. 7, where the Hebrew verbal form is a participle, *i.e.* literally, "your land strangers (*are*) eating"], has also been referred to earlier dates. While the definite occasion is uncertain, the description is very appropriate to the invasion by Sennacherib, and to this time there is a growing tendency among scholars to assign it. If this is its date, then its present position at the beginning of Isaiah's prophecies is due to the representative character of its teaching.

Skinner favors the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion of Judah in the reign of Ahaz for this chap. His reasons may be summarized as follows: (a) the fresh and powerful setting-forth of prophetic ideas here favors the earlier rather than the later period of Isaiah's ministry. (b) The resemblance of the teaching to that in chaps. 2-5, which are early; and (c) if this prophecy had its origin in the time of Sennacherib's invasion, it is likely more allusions would have been made to that event. Cf. also (d) the reference to idolatry (vss. 29 ff.), which points to the reign of Ahaz rather than to that of Hezekiah. Wade assigns a part of the chap. = vss. 18-28 (29-31) to the time of Ahaz.<sup>2</sup>

m. Chap. 22:1-14. The date of this section in which Isaiah rebukes the untimely rejoicing of the people is un-

<sup>1</sup> See further notes on chaps. 28-33, p. 153, v. *i.-k.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skinner, Isa. i. p. 3; Whitehouse, Isa. i. pp. 65, 88 f.; Wade, Isa. 1 ff. See also this vol. p. 153, v. *l.*

certain. By many scholars it is referred to some occasion, the details of which are now unknown, in connection with Sennacherib's invasion, 701 B.C.

Possibly the withdrawal of the Assyrian army from Jerusalem, after Hezekiah's submission in 701 B.C. (2 Ki. 18: 14-16), was the occasion of the situation calling forth this prophecy = a view adopted by most scholars. Cf. also p. 151, n.<sup>1</sup>.

The following sections of Isaiah 1-39 are now by agreement of practically all scholars regarded as later productions, viz.

a. Chaps. 13: 1-14: 23 and 21: 1-10 (?) = period of the Exile; cf. pp. 177 ff.; 195, ii. 1. a.-b.

b. Chaps. 34-35 and 24-27 = the Persian period; cf. pp. 215 ff., 220 ff., etc.

c. The following sections are also considered by many scholars later additions, 4: 2-6; 11: 10-12: 6; 19: 16-25; 21: 11-17; 23: 15-18; 29: 16-24 (or 18-24); 30: 18-33 (or 18-26) and chap. 33. To this list many would add 2: 2-4 (= Mic. 4: 1-3); 9: 2-7; 11: 1-9 and various minor insertions of one or more verses. See notes on Biblical material chronologically arranged, pp. 144-153. Other scholars, especially Cheyne, hold that a number of other portions of the prophecy were added by later hands; cf. his *Introd. Isa.*; his *Comm. on Isa. (SBOT)*; see also *Int. Crit. Comm. (Gray)*; Kent, *Sermons*, etc. Cf. also summary in LOT, 229 f. See the list, pp. 306 f., this vol.<sup>12</sup>

*D. Micah.* Micah, a native of Judah (Moreseth, 1: 1), prophesied, according to the heading of his prophecy, in the

<sup>1</sup> For Isa. 36-39 = historical material, cf. p. 85, 1. C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Isaiah's prophecies, found in chaps. 1-39, LOT, 204 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 171 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 53 ff., 185 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 107 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 262 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 178 ff. Moore, LOT, 145 ff. Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* HDB, ii. 485 ff. (G. A. Smith); cf. iv. 112b (Davidson); extra vol. 693a, 708b (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2189 ff.; cf. 2180 ff. (Cheyne); iii. 3890 f. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Isa.*, espec. *Int. Crit. (Gray)*; West. C. (Wade); Camb. B. vol. 1 (Skinner); *Expos. B.* vol. 1 (G. A. Smith); Cen. B. vol. 1 (Whitehouse); SBOT (Cheyne). Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 17 f., 107 ff., 148 ff., 473 ff., 479 f., 486 ff. W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.*<sup>2</sup> xxvii ff., 191 ff., 214 ff., 235 ff., 279 ff., 317 ff., 414 ff., etc. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 294 ff. Driver, *Isa. Life and Times*. Davidson, O. T. *Prophc.* 242 ff. McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 350 f., 359 ff., 367 ff., 393 f. (= §§ 309, 317 ff., 325 ff., 355); ii. pp. 252 ff., 260 ff., 296 ff., 302 ff. (= §§ 641 ff., 654 ff., 701 ff., 711 ff.); iii. pp. 111 ff. (§§ 995 ff.). Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 339 ff., 360 ff. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 114 f., 128 ff., 135 ff., etc. H. P. Smith, O. T. *Hist.* 233 ff., 241, 246 ff. Wade, O. T. *Hist.* 21 ff. Budde, *Relig. Isr.*, 144 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 143 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 56 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs. i.* pp. 79 ff., 133 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 20 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 150, 158 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 114. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 139 ff.

reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah (1:1), *i.e.* c. 740–c. 690 B.C. That Micah's ministry falls in this period is confirmed by an incidental reference in Jeremiah that Micah was a prophet in the days of Hezekiah (Jer. 26:17 ff.). Micah is frequently described by Old Testament scholars as "a younger contemporary of Isaiah."

In considering more particularly the date of the prophecy the following sections may be taken together: (a) chaps. 1–3; (b) 4–5; and (c) 6–7.

a. Chaps. 1–3. It is the common opinion of scholars that these chapters belong to a different occasion from the rest of the book. Of these chapters, the first, on account of the prediction of the destruction of Samaria (vss. 6 f.), — a judgment which also threatens Jerusalem (vss. 9 ff.), — is generally placed shortly before 722 (721) B.C., *i.e.* the date of the destruction of Samaria by Assyria.

It is to be noted, however, that the time indicated in 1:6 f. may be otherwise understood, as the tense in the Hebrew may refer to what is impending, what is actually transpiring or what has just happened. Hence it is possible that the chapter belongs soon after 722 (721) B.C.

Since it is known from the Assyrian records that Samaria continued as a city after 721 B.C., being repopulated with foreign colonists, and that it was involved in conspiracy against Assyria with other cities in 720 B.C., it is the view of some scholars that Mic. 1 was occasioned by this city's attitude of rebellion, which probably existed either 713–11 or 704–701 B.C. Cf. below on chaps. 2–3.<sup>1</sup>

Attention may also be called to the fact that nothing with certainty can be assigned in Micah's prophecies to the reign of Jotham, c. 740–735 B.C.

Chapters 2–3 from (a), the evident outward prosperity of Judah (2:1 ff.; 3:1 ff.), and (b), the absence of apprehension on the nation's part of danger of invasion, may with probability be placed soon after 719 B.C., when Sargon withdrew his forces from operations in the West.

From the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem (3:12), which according to Jeremiah (26:18) was uttered in the reign of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. M. P. Smith, *Mic.*, etc., 20 f.; Moore, *LOT*, 199. Cf. *contra*, Gray, *Introd.* 218.



Hezekiah, a possible inference is that chaps. 2-3 + 1:9 ff. belong to a time subsequent to the accession of Sennacherib of Assyria in 705 B.C. From this chronological setting the prediction may be accounted for as occasioned by the changed attitude of Hezekiah (*i.e.* his spirit of rebellion) toward Assyria after that date.<sup>1</sup>

b. Chaps. 4-5. These chapters, the connection of thought of which is considerably broken, not unlikely represent fragments of different prophetic addresses. In view of the mention of the Assyrians as invaders (5:5), a date in connection with Sennacherib's invasion 701 B.C. is a reasonable one to infer.

There is, however, a growing conviction among scholars that these chapters as a whole, or in large part, belong to a much later age. Cf. under the Biblical material outlined pp. 153 f., *v. m.*

c. Chaps. 6-7. Of this section chaps. 6:1-7:6 have been assigned by many scholars, since the time of Ewald, to the period of reaction to heathenism and of persecution of the adherents of Jehovah, in the reign of Manasseh, c. 690 ff. (?) B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 21:1 ff.). This view is based on: (a) reference to child sacrifice (6:7; cf. 2 Ki. 21:6); (b) the tone of despondency (7:1 ff.) in contrast to the more hopeful strain in the preceding sections (cf. 4:6 ff.; 5:2 ff. Note also the tenderness of 6:1 ff. as compared with the denunciations of chaps. 1 ff.); (c) the social evils depicted, especially the persecution of the righteous (7:2; cf. 2 Ki. 21:16); and (d) the mention of "the statutes of Omri" and "the works of the house of Ahab" (6:16), in whose counsel the people "walk," *i.e.* Baal worship (cf. 1 Ki. 16:31 ff.), and possibly the persecution of the adherents of Jehovah (cf. 1 Ki. 18:13).

It is to be noted, in connection with the first of the reasons given above, that some scholars think that Mic. 6:7 implies the *possibility* of child sacrifice, not its actual existence as a practice. As a matter of fact this form of worship, though specially prevalent in the reign of Manasseh, is also referred to as being carried on in the time of Ahaz (cf. 2 Ki. 16:3).<sup>2</sup>

The assigning of Mic. 6:1-7:6 to the reign of Manasseh does

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, iii. 360a (Nowack); J. M. P. Smith, Mic., etc., 19 ff.; Kent, Sermons, etc., 18, 139 ff., where chaps. 1-3 are dated before 701 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, i. p. 370.

not necessarily preclude the possibility of Micah being the author, but owing to the difference of style in this section (it is dramatic in form, entirely unlike chaps. 1-5, and the tone is also pathetic, resembling the elegiac strain found so frequently in Jeremiah), the view that it belongs to a different prophet is held by many scholars. G. A. Smith, however, thinks there is nothing inconsistent with Micah or the eighth century B.C. in this portion of the prophecy, and holds that it may be regarded "as the more detailed picture of the evils he summarily denounced" in the earlier chapters. Even in 7:1-6, though the data favor the era of Manasseh, he concludes that the date cannot be fixed.<sup>1</sup>

The remainder of chap. 7 (vss. 7-20) is usually considered a later addition to the prophecy.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. the view of J. M. P. Smith that chaps. 6 f. "seem to be a collection of miscellaneous fragments, coming from widely scattered periods and from at least four different authors," of which "the possibility of Micah's authorship remains open for 6:9-16 and 7:1-6" only.<sup>3 4</sup>

*E. Zephaniah.* The ministry of Zephaniah, who was a prophet of Judah, belongs according to the heading of his prophecy (1:1) to the reign of Josiah, 639-608 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 22:1-23:30). The correctness of this date, at least for chapter 1, is usually accepted. The priority of the prophecy to the downfall of Nineveh, c. 607 or 606 B.C., is indicated by the prediction of the destruction of that city (2:13).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 370, 372, 429. Cf. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 145 ff. Cf. Cheyne's view that this section is post-exilic, see EBi, iii. 3073.

<sup>2</sup> See notes in outline of Biblical material, pp. 154 f., iii. b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. M. P. Smith, *Mic.*, etc., 15 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Micah, LOT, 325 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 247 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 57 f., cf. 187, 189. McFadyen, *Introd.* 200 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 339 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 217 ff. Moore, LOT, 198 ff. HDB, iii. 359 f. (Nowack). EBi, iii. 3068 ff. (W. R. Smith and Cheyne); 3892 (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Micah, espec. in *Int. Crit.* (J. M. P. Smith); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B.* (Cheyne); *Cen. B.* (Horton). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 28 ff. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 18, 139 ff., 478, 481 ff. McCurdy, HPM, i. pp. 394 f. (§ 356); ii. pp. 212 f., 254 f., 383 f., 386, 424 f. (= §§ 595, 644 ff., 798, 800 and note 8 in Ap.). W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.*<sup>2</sup> (= Cheyne) xxiii ff., 287 ff., 365 f., 372, 429 ff., 442 (= 426 ff., 439, old ed.). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 205 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 350 f. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 116, 136 f., 139 f., etc. H. P. Smith, O. T. *Hist.* 252 f. Wade, O. T. *Hist.* 29, 360, 428. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 124 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 69 f. Sanders, etc., *Prophs. i.* 111 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 162 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 163 ff.

The period in Josiah's reign to which the prophecy, especially chapter 1, belongs is commonly allowed to be before 621 B.C. *i.e.* the year in which the law book was discovered, followed by the great reformation (cf. 2 Ki. 22:3 ff.).<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this view are : (a) the idolatrous practices alluded to in 1:4 ff. favor a date before Josiah's reforms (cf. 2 Ki. 23:4 ff.); (b) the social conditions described (1:8 ff.; cf. 3:1 ff.) harmonize with this time; and (c) the religious indifference and scepticism referred to (1:12 ff.) might well reflect the disappointment of some of the zealous Jehovah adherents, who anticipated greater results from the overthrow of Amon (2 Ki. 21:23 f.) and the early reforms of Josiah (?) (cf. 2 Chr. 34:3 ff.).

In harmony with this time in the reign of Josiah is the view, held by many scholars, that the prediction of impending judgment upon the nation (chap. 1) was occasioned by the great Scythian invasion, which swept over Western Asia as far as Egypt, c. 630-625 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Chaps. 2-3, in the main, apparently reflect the same period of coming vengeance (cf. 2:4 ff.; 3:1 ff.).

It may be noted that Kautzsch assigns 2:1-3:13 to Josiah's reign after the reformation of 621 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The prophecy as a whole may therefore be assigned with a reasonable degree of certainty to c. 625 B.C.

The authenticity of the following sections in this prophecy are questioned by scholars, 2:8-11; 3:8(or 9)-10, 14-20. Cf. further, notes p. 157, v. b.-d.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other dates to which this chap. has been assigned, cf. p. 157, v. a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his LOT, 61, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Zephaniah, LOT, 340 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 253 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 61, 189 f. McFadyen, *Introd.* 216 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 355 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 225 f. Moore, LOT, 204 ff. HDB, iv. 974 ff. (Selbie); cf. extra vol. 708b, 711a (Kautzsch). EBi, iii. 3893 f. (Cheyne); iv. 5402 ff. (W. R. Smith and Driver). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Zeph.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (J. M. P. Smith); *Camb. B.* (Davidson); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, vol. ii. (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.* (Driver). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 31 f. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 20, 165 ff., 484 f. McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 397, 410 f. (§§ 814, 830); cf. iii. p. 217 (§ 1138). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 258 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 380 f. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 167, 173 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. *Hist.* 276. Wade, O. T. *Hist.* 30, cf. 441 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 153 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* i. 187 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 76 f. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 33. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 173 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 190 ff.

*F. Jeremiah.* Jeremiah's prophetic career began in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (cf. 1:2), 626 B.C. It continued throughout the remaining years of the existence of Judah as a kingdom (1:3), and some sections of the book (e.g. chaps. 40-44) record the experiences and messages of the prophet after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C.

It is to be noted that in the book of Jeremiah there are, besides the record of the prophetic messages, sections of narrative and historical material of considerable extent (e.g. chaps. 26-29; 36-45, largely), which may well have been the work of Baruch (cf. Jer. 36:4 ff.; 45:1, etc.). See p. 193, n.<sup>1</sup>.

The following steps in the compilation of the present book of Jeremiah can be clearly traced from evidence furnished by the prophecy itself: (a) the summary of prophecies delivered during twenty-three years, written by Baruch (36:1 f.), and rewritten and enlarged the following year (36:28, 32, cf. vs. 9), 604-603 B.C. (b) The collection indicated in 1:3 (the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, 586 B.C.), which must have contained, in addition to the former group, Jeremiah's utterances between 603 and 586 B.C. And (c) the section subsequent to 586 B.C. (cf. chaps. 40-44) and probably other chapters and insertions of various dates.<sup>1</sup>

The following may be adopted as convenient periods for grouping the prophet's messages.

1. *Summary of prophetic messages uttered originally before the discovery of the Law Book* (cf. 2 Ki. 22:3 ff.), 626-621 B.C. Chaps. 1; 2:1-4:2; 4:3-6:30.

a. Chap. 1 describes the prophet's call, etc., in 626 B.C. (cf. vs. 2).

b. Chaps. 2:1-4:2 are usually assigned to the early part of the prophet's ministry: (a) 3:6 places the section in the reign of Josiah; and (b) the references to idolatry (e.g. 2:27 f.; 3:9) point to a time before the great reformation (2 Ki. 23:1 ff.), 621 B.C.

c. Chaps. 4:3-6:30 may well belong to the same time, as similar conditions are reflected (cf. 4:18; 5:1 ff., 19 ff., etc., with 2:8 ff., 17 ff., 26 ff., etc.). As the coming of an invader from the North is a prominent subject (cf. 4:6 ff., 13 f.; 5:6, 15 ff., etc.) as compared with 2:1-4:2, it seems

<sup>1</sup> For further details and variant views, cf. *Intros. and Comms.*, etc.

most likely that it belongs a little later. The foe from the North referred to (4:6, etc.) is considered by many scholars to mean the Scythians, c. 630–625 B.C. Some of the descriptions are especially appropriate to this marauding horde (*e.g.* 5:17; 6:3, 22).

Some scholars think that this section, while originally occasioned by the threatened Scythian invasion, was afterwards adapted by Jeremiah, when rewritten in the fifth year of Jehoiakim (36:32, cf. vss. 1, 9), to the new danger arising from the Chaldeans. Some expressions (*e.g.* "lion" and "destroyer of nations," 4:7) are especially applicable to the latter (cf. 49:19; 50:44).<sup>1</sup>

2. *Prophetic messages connected with the discovery of the Law Book* (2 Ki. 22:3 ff.), 621 B.C. Chaps. 11:1–8; 17:19–27(?).

a. Chap. 11:1–8. The close resemblance of phraseology in this section to Deuteronomy, the law book discovered on this occasion, has led many scholars to refer it to a preaching mission undertaken by Jeremiah in the interests of this legal code.<sup>2</sup>

Compare the following parallels of phraseology and thought with Deuteronomy; 11:3 with Deut. 28:15–19; 11:4 with Deut. 4:20, 26:17 f., etc.; 11:5 with Deut. 6:3; 11:8 with Deut. 28:15.

b. Chap. 17:19–27 (?). This section on the observance of the Sabbath may belong to this period. The outlook for the nation is represented as hopeful, if the Sabbath is observed (cf. vss. 24 ff.). In later messages the prophet despairs of the nation (*e.g.* chaps. 14 ff.). This section, however, is considered by many scholars a later addition to the prophecy. See further p. 159, v. m.

3. *Prophetic messages and experiences at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign* (2 Ki. 23:34 ff.), 608 ff. B.C. Chaps. 26; 7–10; 21:11–22:9; 22:10–12; 22:13–19; 11:9–12:6; 18–20.

a. Chap. 26 is dated from the beginning of Jehoiakim's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 395 f. (§ 813); HDB, ii. 570b (Davidson); Peake, Jer., i. 117; Moore, LOT, 167 f.

<sup>2</sup> For the reasons for regarding Deut. as the book of the law discovered in 621 B.C. see pp. 123 ff.

reign (vs. 1). The correctness of this heading is confirmed by the reference to the extradition of Uriah from Egypt (vss. 20 ff.), which could have taken place only when Judah was under the jurisdiction of Egypt, *i.e.* the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign (cf. 2 Ki. 23:31 ff.).

b. Chaps 7-10 (except 10:1-16, which is usually considered a late insertion; see pp. 180 f.) belong also to this time. As the same theme of chap. 26, viz. the destruction of the Temple, is also dwelt upon in chaps. 7:1-8:3, the same occasion may naturally be inferred. The remainder of the section, chaps. 8:4 ff., contains similar denunciations of evil and prediction of calamity (cf. 8:4 ff., 12 ff., 16 ff.; 9:1 ff., 7 ff., etc., with 7:8 ff., 16 ff., 29 ff.), and thus may well be included with the preceding. The description of danger, as not imminent, also favors this date, viz. after Judah's submission to Egypt and before the battle of Carchemish, 605 (604) B.C., when by the defeat of Egypt Babylonia threatened the West.

c. Chaps. 21:11-22:9. This section may be considered together, as 21:11-14 connects itself naturally with 22:1-9, rather than with the preceding (21:1-10), which is addressed to Zedekiah. From 21:12 and 22:3 f., in which the fate of Judah is not regarded as hopeless, the early part of Jehoiakim's reign seems a fitting occasion to which to assign this section.

d. Chap. 22:10-12. This brief prophecy relating to Jehoahaz (= Shallum) and Josiah harmonizes also with this time.

e. Chap. 22:13-19. This denunciation of Jehoiakim's oppression may also belong to this date.

f. Chaps. 11:9-12:6. From the reference to the plot against Jeremiah's life on the part of the priesthood (cf. 11:9 ff., 18 ff.), it has been inferred, with good reason by the majority of scholars, that this was due to the prophet's words against the Temple (cf. 7:1 ff.; 26:1 ff.). Being thwarted in their open attack upon him (26:24, cf. vss. 8 ff.) they next resorted to treachery. Hence this section can be assigned with much certainty to a time shortly after chaps. 7-10 (cf. above, b).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars assign 11:18-12:6 to the same date as 11:1-8 = 621 B.C.; the hostility to Jeremiah being explained as due to his advocacy of the Deut. reforms. Cf. Peake, Jer. i. 59 f., 182 ff., cf. 11 ff.

g. Chaps. 18-20. These chapters also are assigned usually to this time for the following reasons: (a) the element of hope of national repentance (18:11 ff.) indicates the early rather than the latter part of Jehoiakim's reign. (b) The outrage perpetrated upon Jeremiah (cf. chap. 20) would have been impossible in Josiah's reign; nor could it have been so late as the time of Zedekiah, for the chief officer then was a different person (cf. 29:25 f. with 20:1 f.). And (c) after the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign Jeremiah was in hiding till just at its close (36:26 f.). Hence somewhere in the early part of this reign may be taken as the correct date.

A further reason for this dating of this section has been suggested by Davidson, viz. the inability of Jeremiah to go to the Temple, referred to in 36:5, may possibly have been due to Pashhur's action described in chap. 20. Chap. 36 belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign (cf. vs. 1). This points to a date just previous to that year for chap. 20.<sup>1</sup>

On vss. in chaps. 19 f., which according to some scholars are later insertions, cf. p. 161, iii. e.

4. *Prophetic messages from the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign to its end*, 604-597 B.C. = Chaps. 25; 46-49; 36:1-8; 45; 36:9-32; 14:1-17:18; 12:7-17; 35.

a. Chap. 25 belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, c. 604 B.C., the year in which the Egyptians were defeated by the Chaldeans at Carchemish (vs. 1, cf. 46:2).<sup>2</sup>

b. Chaps. 46-49. As almost all the nations mentioned in these chapters are also named in chap. 25:19-26, this section may with much probability be assigned to the same date, having its origin in the impression produced by this victory of the Chaldeans (cf. 46:2; 47:1).

It is to be noted that chap. 49:34 ff. is dated from the beginning of Zedekiah's reign (vs. 34). The year may be correctly given, but it should be remembered that vs. 34 is wanting in the LXX.

For the possibility of much in Jer. 46-49 belonging to a later period see p. 162, iii. i.

c. Chap. 36:1-8 dates from the same year (cf. vs. 1).

d. Chap. 45 also belongs to this year (cf. vs. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 572a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on insertions in chap. 25, p. 162, iii. h.

e. Chap. 36:9-32 belongs to the fifth year of Jehoiakim, 603 B.C. (cf. vs. 9).

f. Chaps. 14:1-17:18 have been assigned to the latter part of Jehoiakim's reign for the following reasons: (a) the intensity of feeling manifested by the prophet (cf. 15:10 ff., 15 ff.); (b) the earnestness of his intercession on behalf of the nation (cf. 14:7 ff., 19 ff.); and (c) the representation of the fate of the nation as hopeless (cf. 14:11 ff.; 15:1 ff.; 16:1 ff.). All these facts favor the closing years of this reign.

It is the opinion of Davidson, however, that there is little in chaps. 14 ff. to determine the time in Jehoiakim's reign.<sup>1</sup>

g. Chap. 12:7-17. From the reference to the land having suffered from neighboring peoples (vss. 14 f.), the occasion of this prophecy can be assigned with considerable certainty to the raids made upon Judah by the Syrians, Moabites, etc., who were instigated by the Chaldeans (cf. 2 Ki. 24:2 f.), about the ninth year of Jehoiakim's reign, about 600 B.C.

h. Chap. 35. It seems also quite certain that this chapter belongs to the same occasion. The Rechabites, a nomadic tribe, with whom the prophet had the interview, had taken refuge in Jerusalem from an invasion of Chaldean and Syrian troops (cf. vs. 11). This harmonizes with the condition of affairs in Judah, c. 600 B.C. (cf. c. 598 B.C. = Peake's dating).

5. *Prophetic messages in the brief reign of Jehoiachin* (cf. 2 Ki. 24:8 ff.), 597 B.C. = Chaps. 13; 22:20-30.

a. Chap. 13. This chapter is usually referred to this year on account of the reference to the "queen-mother" (vs. 18, cf. 2 Ki. 24:8). The fact that her name is given in this passage in the book of Kings (24:8), and that she is also referred to in Jer. 22:26; 29:2 (cf. 2 Ki. 24:12, 15) imply that she was one who had unusual influence at this time.

Aside from the mention of the "queen-mother" in this chapter, Davidson thinks it contains nothing else to suggest this date.<sup>2</sup>

b. Chap. 22:20-30. This prediction of the exile of Coniah (= Jehoiachin), cf. vss. 24 f., dates from this year.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 573a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. See further in this vol. p. 167, iii. e.



The whole section 21:11-22:30 (together with possibly 23:1-8) may have been compiled at this date, 597 B.C., though the portions 21:11 ff. must have been composed or uttered during the respective reigns of the kings mentioned. See above, under 3. c, d, e, p. 107.

6. *Prophetic messages and experiences in the reign of Zedekiah, until his rebellion against the Babylonians*<sup>1</sup> (2 Ki. 24:17 ff.), 597-588 B.C. = Chaps. 24; 23; 27-29; 51:59-64 (?).

a. Chap. 24. This chapter, in which the captives with Jehoiachin in Babylonia are contrasted with the Jews remaining in Judah, can in view of its theme be placed with good reason in the early years of Zedekiah's reign.

b. Chap. 23. From the denunciation of false leaders (vss. 1 ff.), and especially the prophets (vss. 9 ff.), a natural inference is that the reference is to those who had so much evil influence in the reign of Zedekiah (cf. 27:14 f.; 28:1 ff.).

c. Chaps. 27-29 belong to the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, 593 B.C. (cf. 28:1); the occasion being a plot, instigated by Egypt, to throw off the Babylonian control (cf. 27:3). Cf. also on the date 27:1, 3, 12, 20.

The reading "Jehoiakim" (27:1) is obviously a mistake for "Zedekiah" (cf. vss. 3, 12, 20). 27:1 may be a gloss, as it is wanting in the LXX. W. R. Smith considers it "a mere accidental repetition of the title of chap. 26."<sup>2</sup>

d. Chap. 51:59-64 is also dated from the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, i.e. 593 B.C. (cf. vs. 59). See further p. 168, iv. d.

7. *Prophetic messages and experiences connected with the revolt, siege and capture of Jerusalem*, 588-586 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 24:20 ff.) = Chaps. 21:1-10; 34; 37:1-38:28a; 39:15-18; 32-33; 30-31.

a. Chap. 21:1-10 dates from the time that Nebuchadnezzar's army came into Judea to quell the rebellion (vs. 2, cf. 2 Ki. 25:1), i.e. c. 587 B.C.

b. Chap. 34. The historical setting for this chapter is the

<sup>1</sup>The terms Babylonians and Chaldeans are used interchangeably in this volume.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 97.

time of the siege of Jerusalem (vs. 1). It refers to events probably subsequent to those of the preceding sections, 21:1-10. The re-enslaving of the emancipated Jews referred to (vss. 8 ff.) undoubtedly occurred during the temporary raising of the siege (cf. 37:5 f., 11).

c. Chaps. 37:1-38:28a. This section belongs to the time of the siege of Jerusalem, the occasion being a temporary withdrawal from the city by the Babylonians to meet an opposing Egyptian army (cf. 37:3 ff., 7, 11, etc.).

d. Chap. 39:15-18. This supplement to chap. 38 probably belongs also to this time.

e. Chaps. 32-33 date from the time of the siege (cf. 32:2; 33:1), in all probability belonging to the second (*i.e.* latter) part of it.

f. Chaps. 30-31, which relate to the restoration of Judah and Israel, may be subsequent to chaps. 32-33. In the main, chaps. 30-33 seem closely connected, and as a whole may be assigned to the same date. Cf. further, pp. 167 f., iii. i.

8. *The capture of Jerusalem* (cf. 2 Ki. 25:3 ff.), 586 B.C. = Chaps. 38:28b-39:9; 52:1-27. Cf. p. 85, 1. D.

a. Chap. 38:28b-39:9 is an historical section relating this event.

b. Chap. 52:1-27 is another historical section relating the siege and capture of the city.

The following sections of Jeremiah belong later:—

a. Chaps. 39:10 ff. + chaps. 40-44 + 52:28-34 = period of the Exile. See pp. 170 f.

b. Practically all scholars consider chaps. 10:1-16 and 50:1-51:58 as also belonging to the exilic period. See pp. 179 ff.

c. The following are also some of the more important passages questioned in whole or part by recent scholars, 9:23-26 (?); 17:19-27; 19:3-9, 11b-13; 20:14-18; chaps. 25 (in part); 46-49 (in part); 51:59-64; 30-33 (in part); 39:4-13 (not in LXX), together with various minor insertions of one or more vss. Cf. notes on Biblical material, pp. 157-169.

Some recent scholars consider that a number of other portions of the prophecy were added by later hands. Cf. espec. Schmidt in EBi, ii. 2372 ff.; see also summary in LOT, 272 ff.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Jeremiah, LOT, 247 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 195 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 76 ff., 189 ff., 247. McFadyen, *Introd.* 140 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 295 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 189 ff. Moore, LOT, 162 ff. HDB, ii. 569 ff. (Davidson). EBi, ii.

*G. Nahum.* The heading of this prophecy (1:1) contains no reference to its date. The period, however, to which it belongs is defined by allusions to two well-known events of history, viz. the capture of No-Amon (= Thebes, cf. 3:8 ff.) in Egypt, 664-662 B.C., and the destruction of Nineveh, c. 607 B.C., of which this prophecy is a prediction. Within these limits different occurrences are held as the most probable occasion of its utterance.

The two events which have found most favor are the attack upon Nineveh, c. 625 B.C., by the Medes, which was unsuccessful, and their second attempt, c. 607 B.C. (with the approval of the Chaldeans, if not with their actual assistance), which resulted in its downfall and destruction.

The vivid picture of the assault upon the city and the impending ruin predicted (cf. especially 2:1 ff.; 3:1 ff.) give the impression of imminent danger to Nineveh, and the description of chap. 3:18 f. is most naturally answered in the final attack. A. B. Davidson accordingly suggests 610-608 B.C. as, "well within the range of possibility," the date of Nahum.<sup>1</sup>

It is thought by some scholars that the prophecy more likely belongs earlier in the above-mentioned period; e.g. 652-648 B.C., when the power of Assyria was threatened by a rebellion in Babylon headed by the brother of Assurbanipal. It is maintained that the reference to the destruction of Thebes (3:8 ff.), as if to an event well remembered, harmonizes better with this earlier date. From this standpoint of time, the vivid descriptions of attack upon the city (chaps. 2 f.) are due to poetic representation, by which the future is depicted as if present.

2372 ff., cf. 2366 ff. (Schmidt); iii. 3878 f., 3894 f. (Cheyne). Intros. in Comms. on Jer., espec. Camb. B. (Streane = R. V. text); Expos. B., 2 vols. (Ball and Bennett); Cen. B., 2 vols. (Peake). Bennett, Primer, etc., 33 ff. Kent, Sermons, etc., 20 ff., 169 ff., 226 ff., 276 ff., 470 ff. McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 395 f. (§ 813); iii. pp. 160 ff., 172 ff., 220 ff., 274 ff., 304 ff. (= §§ 1065 ff., 1082 ff., 1140 ff., 1214 ff., 1252 ff.). Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 291 ff. Driver, Book of Proph. Jer. Gillies, Jer. Cheyne, Jer. Life and Times. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 91 ff. Kent, Divided Kingd. 168 f., 175 f., 181 f., 190 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 275 f., 278 f., 286 ff. Sanders, etc., Prophs. i. 201 ff., 229 ff. Budde, Relig. Isr., 186 ff. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. 385 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 23, 376, cf. 441 ff. Kent, Hist. Biog., etc., 315 ff. G. A. Smith, Modern Crit., etc., 163 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 115, cf. 65 f. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 177 ff. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 190 ff., 212 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, Nah., etc., 17.

The authenticity of chap. 1 in large part is questioned by many scholars to-day. Cf. further note p. 159, v. *n*.<sup>1</sup>

*H. Habakkuk.* The heading of this prophecy (1:1) as in Nahum (cf. 1:1) is without any chronological statement.

On the ground of the Chaldeans being referred to as an oppressive power (1:5 ff.), it is generally allowed that the prophecy belongs after 625 B.C., when Babylonia under the leadership of the Chaldean Nabopolassar began to grow in strength. The precise date, however, as in the case of Nahum, is uncertain.

From the description of the formidable character of the Chaldeans (cf. 1:5 ff., 14-16; 2:5 ff.) it seems most reasonable to think of their power as well established, when their military prowess had become apparent. Such a situation is answered well in the impression which must have been produced in Palestine, after the Chaldeans under Nebuchadrezzar had defeated the Egyptian army at Carchemish, c. 604 B.C. This date is also favored by the description of the evils rampant in Judah (1:1-4), which correspond to the condition of affairs in the days of Jehoiakim (cf. Jer. 7:8 f.; 9:3 f., etc.). Such abuses could scarcely have been possible in the reign of Josiah. The contact of this same power with Western Asia seems to be alluded to in 2:17.

The reign of Jehoiakim shortly after the battle of Carchemish, c. 604 B.C., and before his rebellion against the Chaldeans (2 Ki. 24:1 f.), *i.e.* c. 604-602 B.C., may in view of these facts be assumed as a probable date for this prophecy. Cf. also the date c. 600 B.C., according to some authorities.

From 1:6 which implies that the Chaldean dominion is not yet established, and vs. 5 which refers to the unexpected character

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Nahum, LOT, 334 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 250 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 60, 189. MeFadyen, *Introd.* 206 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 348 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 220 f. Moore, LOT, 201 f. HDB, iii. 473 ff. (Kennedy). EBi, iii. 3259 ff. (Budde); 3892 f. (Cheyne). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 31. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 19, 155 ff. *Intros.* in *Comms. on Nahum*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (J. M. P. Smith); *Camb. B.* (Davidson); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.* (Driver). McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 411 ff. (§§ 831 ff.). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 239 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 381. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 167 f. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 277 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 29, 415, 418, 441 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 141 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs. i.* pp. 173 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 77 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 183 f., 186 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 201 f.

of this event, it is possible that the section 1:5-11 is earlier than the rest of the book. Davidson, however, thinks this is a prediction only in form, and that it belongs to the same time as the context.<sup>1</sup>

Some scholars take the section 1:2-4 (which commonly is referred to the oppression of the righteous Jews by their wicked countrymen) as a description of the oppression by a foreign power, either Assyria, c. 615 B.C. (Budde), or possibly Egypt, 608-604 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 23:21 ff., G. A. Smith), to punish which Jehovah is to raise up the Chaldeans. Budde suggests the following readjustment in the order of the text, 1:2-4, 12-17 (also describing the Assyrians), 2:1-4 and then 1:5-11 (= Chaldeans). The following are the principal reasons for this theory given by Budde: (a) the vivid portrayal of the oppressive power (1:14 f., cf. 2:5) is appropriate to the Assyrians but not to the Chaldeans; (b) such a description, if referring to the Chaldeans, could only have been possible after Judah had been for some time under their dominion; and (c) the personification of the enemy as a fisher (1:15 f.) is especially fitting as applied to the Assyrians.<sup>2</sup>

For other arrangements of this section cf. *Intros.* and *Comms.*

The authenticity of chap. 3 and chap. 2 in part (especially vss. 12-14) is questioned by many scholars to-day. Cf. notes, pp. 161 f., iii. f. g.<sup>3</sup>

*I. Ezekiel.* Ezekiel began to prophesy in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (1:2, cf. 2 Ki. 24:8 ff.), 592 B.C. He was a member of this body of captives and his ministry was to them. Later when the second body of Jews was taken into captivity, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 25:11 ff.), it is probable that his ministry also included this band.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Davidson, *Nah.*, etc., 48.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *EBi*, ii. 1922 ff. (Budde). Budde, *Relig. Isr.*, 179, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Habakkuk, *LOT*, 337 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 251 ff. Kautzsch, *LOT*, 74 ff., 190. McFadyen, *Introd.* 210 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 351 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 221 ff. Moore, *LOT*, 202 ff. *HDB*, ii. 269 ff. (Driver). *EBi*, ii. 1921 ff. (Budde); iii. 3893 (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Habak., espec. *Int. Crit.* (W. Hayes Ward); *Camb. B.* (Davidson); *Expos. B.* = *Bk. of XII*, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.* (Driver). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 32 f. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 23, 221 ff. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 210 ff. (§§ 1128 ff.). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 269 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 391 f. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 168, 188 f. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 285 f. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 29, 441 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 159 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* i. pp. 219 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 78 f. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 132 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 188 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 220.

The reference to the 30th year (1:1) is obscure. (a) Possibly it may refer to the prophet's own age. Other suggestions are: (b) from the date of the discovery of Deuteronomy, 621 B.C. = c. 591 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 22:3 ff.); or (c) from some Babylonian date now unknown.

This book of prophecies, unlike the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, is practically arranged chronologically, and exact dates are found with many of the sections (*e.g.* 1:3; 8:1; 20:1, etc.). The numbered months in this prophecy are probably those of the Babylonian year, which began March-April. (See p. 205.) In chaps. 1-7 the only month referred to is the fourth (1:1 f.), viz. June-July.

The following sections and chapters belong before the capture and destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

a. Chaps. 1-7, in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (1:2) = June-July, 592 B.C.

b. Chaps. 8-11, in the sixth year of this captivity (8:1) = Aug.-Sept. 591 B.C.

c. Chaps. 12-19 are undated, but they undoubtedly are a little later than the preceding section.

Note that chap. 17 implies the disloyalty of Zedekiah, which led to his rebellion against the Chaldeans, 588-587 B.C. Hence it may have been uttered c. 590 B.C. See further p. 168, iv. *e. f.*

d. Chaps. 20-23, in the seventh year of this captivity (20:1) = July-Aug. 590 B.C.

e. Chap. 24 is in the ninth year of the captivity (vs. 1) = Dec.-Jan. 588-587 B.C.

f. Chap. 29:1-16 belongs to the tenth year (cf. vs. 1) = Dec.-Jan. 587-586 B.C.

g. Chap. 30:1-19 is a sequel to chap. 29:1-16.

h. Chap. 30:20-26 dates from the eleventh year of this captivity, three months before the capture of Jerusalem (cf. vs. 20 with 2 Ki. 25:2 f.) = March-April, 586 B.C.

i. Chap. 31 dates from the same year, five weeks before the capture of Jerusalem (vs. 1, cf. 2 Ki. 25:2 f.) = May-June, 586 B.C.

In the above chapters there is practically no section the authenticity of which is questioned. This holds true as well for the remainder of the prophecy; cf. however, pp. 191 f., iii. *f.*

The remaining chapters and sections of Ezekiel belong to the period of the Exile. See pp. 171 f., 2. B.; cf. 190 f.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. WISDOM LITERATURE.<sup>2</sup> PRE-EXILIC COLLECTIONS OF PROVERBS (?)

The book of Proverbs is composed of different sections which are clearly defined, viz.

- a. Chap. 1: 1-6, General introduction or prologue.
- b. Chaps. 1: 7-9: 18, "The Praise of Wisdom" (Ewald's designation).
- c. Chaps. 10: 1-22: 16, "Proverbs of Solomon" (cf. 10: 1).
- d. Chaps. 22: 17-24: 22, Sayings of the wise (cf. 22: 17a).
- e. Chap. 24: 23-34, Additional sayings of the wise (cf. 24: 23a).
- f. Chaps. 25-29, "Proverbs of Solomon" (cf. 25: 1).
- g. Chap. 30, "Words of Agur," etc. (cf. vs. 1).
- h. Chap. 31: 1-9, "Words of King Lemuel" (cf. vs. 1a).
- i. Chap. 31: 10-31, Praise of the model housewife ("virtuous woman," vs. 10).

It will be noticed from the above headings that apparently a large portion of the book is attributed to Solomon's authorship (cf. 1: 1; 10: 1; 25: 1). That he was a writer of proverbs is attested by the historical literature (cf. 1 Ki. 4: 29-34). This statement, however, as in the case of David's relation to the Psalter (cf. pp. 68 ff.), merely points to the possibility that there may be Solomonic proverbs in the present collection, but does not prove their presence there.

It is to be noted that the historical value of the statement in 1 Ki. 4: 29-34 is questioned by a number of recent scholars. It

<sup>1</sup>Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Ezekiel, LOT, 278 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 213 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 86 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 162 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 314 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 198 ff. Moore, LOT, 172 ff. HDB, i. 814 ff. (Skinner). EBi, ii, 1460 ff., cf. 1456 ff. (Toy); iii. 2737 f. (Gray); 3880 ff., cf. 3895 f. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Ezek., espec. Camb. B. (Davidson); *Expos.* B. (Skinner); West. C. (Redpath); Cen. B. (Lofthouse). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 48 ff. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 24 f., 238 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 245 ff. (§§ 1174 ff.). Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 326 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 115 ff. Budde, *Relig. Isr.* 199 ff. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 15 ff. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 170 f. Kent, *Jew. People*, 5 f., 32 f., 45 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 301 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 24, 384, 441 ff. Sanders etc., *Prophs.* ii. 19 ff., cf. 72 ff., 97 ff., 111 ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 193 ff. Toy, Ezek. (SBOT). Fowler, Hist. Lit. etc., 233 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 235, n. <sup>1</sup>.

is considered by them as Deuteronomic (*i.e.* exilic) in origin, or a post-exilic addition. On the other hand, Duhm's opinion is that there must be a foundation for the statement of these verses, and that the proverbs referred to must have been written down in whole or in part.<sup>1</sup>

In the book of Proverbs as in the Psalter the titles cannot be accepted as absolutely authoritative. Thus the superscription (1:1), "The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel," which seems to stand *for the whole book* cannot evidently apply to such sections as those indicated above as *d, e, g, h*, and probably *i*, which by their respective headings are shown to be by different authors. This naturally raises the question whether *all* the remaining portions of the book belong to Solomon.

The Solomonic headings (1:1; 10:1; 25:1) have been taken in different ways, either (*a*) as titles of original Solomonic collections, which were still retained as they gradually were expanded by the incorporation of various non-Solomonic elements; or (*b*) as titles which were added at later times and which represent uncritical tradition. Just as in the course of time the name of Moses represented the Law, and that of David Psalmody, so the name of Solomon came to stand for a large section of Proverbial literature.

As in the Psalter, the decision of date and authorship, so far as these can be determined, rests largely upon data gathered from the collections themselves; only here the difficulty of coming to a conclusion is even greater, owing to the absence of historical allusions.

Two opposing views are held to-day regarding the age of the different collections of Proverbs. One is that in their present form they are all post-exilic. Some of the grounds cited in favor of this view are (*a*) the similarity of form among the proverbs, corresponding to a finished standard; (*b*) the pure monotheism implied, and the absence of allusion to idolatry to which so many references are found in pre-exilic prophets, even as late as Ezekiel (cf. chaps. 6; 8; and 23); (*c*) while there are many resemblances in the book of Proverbs to prophetic teaching, the prophets deal essentially with the *nation*, the proverbs with the *individual*, which points to post-exilic times; (*d*) the indebtedness alleged

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3795 (Duhm). See also Skinner, Ki. in loc. for the origin and historical value of this section.



of some of the philosophical sections to Greek thought, also the humanistic standpoint favor this late date; and (e) the social conditions indicated, — the various crimes of robbery, murder, etc. (cf. 1:10 ff.; chap. 7, etc.), — are claimed to be specially applicable to post-exilic cities. For further arguments for this view cf. p. 313, v. q.

The other general position is that with the exception of chaps. 30-31 the book is pre-exilic. Some of the grounds in support of this view are: (a) pre-exilic references to the wise men as forming a leading class (cf. Isa. 3:3; Jer. 18:18; Deut. 16:19, etc.); (b) the titles of chaps. 1-29 represent traditions with which there is nothing inconsistent in the proverbs themselves; (c) absence of references to the ceremonial law points to pre-exilic times; (d) the prevailing assumption, that righteousness is followed by well-being and sin by suffering, favors the unquestioning period before these problems were considered in such books as Job, Ecclesiastes and some of the psalms; (e) the peaceful and contented spirit indicated in the collections favors this date; and (f) the individualistic tone of the proverbs may be accounted for by the fact that the wise men were teachers, applying truth to everyday life.<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that the former view is held by most German critics, and is gaining favor among English and American scholars. The present trend of opinion is against Solomonic authorship and pre-exilic dating of proverbs, as it is against Davidic authorship and pre-exilic dating of psalms.

On the other hand it is the view of G. A. Smith, that while it is impossible to give the different stages in the growth of the Wisdom literature, "it is possible that several of the collections of the Book of Proverbs were complete before the Exile, and very probable that they contain sayings from the earlier life of the people."<sup>2</sup>

a. Chaps. 10:1-22:16. In turning now to the examination of particular sections, the collection chaps. 10:1-22:16 will be considered first, as it is generally allowed to be the oldest. The title of this collection (10:1, wanting in the LXX), however, does not necessarily preclude the possibility of proverbs later than Solomon's day being found in it, as it may originally have stood (as already noticed, p. 117) as the heading of a much shorter collection, which subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the king (*e.g.* 16:10, 12 ff., etc.) is sometimes urged in proof of the pre-exilic date of the book of Proverbs, but see Gray, *Introd.* 145 f. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 265, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 286. See also discussion, Gray, *Introd.* 143 ff. Cf. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 202 f.

was expanded to its present extent. That this whole section was not derived from the same period is a natural conclusion to be drawn from the recurrence therein of the same proverb, or part of a proverb, which can scarcely be accounted for on the supposition that it belongs to the same period or possibly the same author. In fact this section may represent a compilation of different shorter ones.

The following are some of the parallel proverbs in this collection, 10:1, cf. 15:20; 10:2, cf. 11:4; 13:14, cf. 14:27; 14:20, cf. 19:4; 16:2, cf. 21:2. For partial parallels, cf. 10:15 with 18:11; 15:33 with 18:12. According to Cheyne nineteen cases of repetition wholly or in part are to be found in this collection.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the proverbs of this collection seem very inappropriate in the mouth of Solomon, from all that is known of him in the book of Kings. Thus (a) the pure monotheism expressed in 15:16 and 14:27 is inconsistent with his idolatry (cf. 1 Ki. 11:4 ff.); (b) compare also the commendation of monogamy (18:22 and 19:13 f.) with facts of his domestic life (1 Ki. 11:1 ff.); and (c) the deprecation of wealth (15:16, etc.) with his great revenues (1 Ki. 9:28 and 10:14 ff.). Many of the proverbs of this section represent the standpoint of a man of the middle class, not that of a king.

Cf. for example the proverbs referring to the king, 16:10-15; 19:12; 20:8, 26, 28; 21:1, which express the feelings and attitude of a subject.

It is easier, however, to single out those proverbs which are inconsistent with Solomonic authorship than to definitely point to those which seem clearly to be his. In view of all the facts, therefore, as definite a conclusion as can reasonably be formed is that this section is composed of proverbs emanating from different wise men, among which a Solomonic nucleus may be included.

In reference to the date of this compilation as a whole, from (a) the settled and moderately prosperous condition of society reflected; (b) the attitude of respect for the king (e.g. 16:10-15; 19:12; 20:8, 26, 28, etc.), it has generally been assigned to the period of the early monarchy, before

<sup>1</sup> Cheyne, Job and Sol. 133.

the social evils depicted in the eighth century prophets became acute, *e.g.* the reign of Jehoshaphat, 876–851 B.C. (Delitzsch); or the beginning of the eighth century (Ewald). The compilation, on this supposition, would then represent proverbs which were ancient and regarded as Solomonic at that time.

Kent considers that the original collection of Proverbs is found in chaps. 10:1–22:16 and dates it 621–600 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Formerly he dated the collection as a whole c. 615 B.C. and following Davidson considered chaps. 25–29 the earliest compilation.<sup>2</sup>

In view, however, of the strong arguments adduced in favor of post-exilic dates for this section and chaps. 25–29 (*cf.* below, *b*), — or at least for a post-exilic revision of earlier collections, — as conservative a conclusion as seems warranted is that chaps. 10:1–22:16 contain probably a pre-exilic basis or nucleus.

The acceptance of a pre-exilic date for chaps. 10:1–22:16 would not preclude the possibility of subsequent revisions and additions, *e.g.* post-exilic. Such might account for (*a*) the note of strict monotheism; (*b*) the absence of reference to idolatry; (*c*) the fact that monogamy is taken for granted (18:22; 19:13 *f.*); and (*d*) also the spirit of reflection (*e.g.* 16:4; 20:27). P. 313, *v. s.*

*b.* Chaps. 25–29. In determining the date of this section much depends upon the value attached to the heading (25:1 = “These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out”). Driver thinks there is no reason to question its accuracy.<sup>3</sup> But by many this title is considered to be of later date, having only the value to be attached to tradition. In view of this it is necessary to fall back upon the data furnished by the chapters, as in the case of the former section considered.

Those who question the authenticity of 25:1 call attention to these facts: (*a*) that the third person shows that it was not written by the “men of Hezekiah”; and (*b*) the expression “king of Judah” points to a date when there was no king of Judah, *i.e.* after 586 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., table in Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, *Wise Men*, etc., 67 *f.*, 72 *f.*

<sup>3</sup> LOT, 407. It is to be noted that the word “also” is wanting in the LXX.

In this collection as in chaps. 10:1-22:16 some of the individual proverbs are out of harmony with Solomon as their author. Thus (a) the picture of a king in 29:4 does not comport with what is known of the oppressive measures of his reign (cf. 1 Ki. 12:3 ff. with 1 Ki. 4:1 ff.; 9:15 ff.); and (b) in 25:2 ff. the king is described from the standpoint of a subject not that of a king. This holds true of the point of view of many of the proverbs of this collection. The conclusion then in reference to Solomon's relation to these proverbs is naturally the same as in chaps. 10:1-22:16.

The prevailing view is that this section is later than 10:1-22:16 owing to the fact (a) that the condition of affairs reflected in many of the proverbs seems less settled and prosperous than in those of chaps. 10 ff.; and (b) that the king is referred to as an oppressor (29:2). It is the view accordingly of many scholars that the time preceding the downfall of the Northern Kingdom, 722-721 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 15:8 ff.) harmonizes with these conditions, and corresponds approximately to the date in the heading (25:1).<sup>1</sup>

Owing, however, to the weighty arguments in favor of a post-exilic date for this section as well as for 10:1-22:16, a similar conclusion seems warranted here also (cf. above, a).

It is to be noted that Ewald considered that in 28:2 f. and 29:2, 4, 11 f., 16 there are references to the downfall of the Northern Kingdom. This inference Nowack questions.<sup>2</sup>

Among the reasons cited for the post-exilic date of this section are also: (a) the contrast between the righteous and the wicked, not between Israel and the world (cf. 25:26; 28:1, 5 ff.; 29:2, etc.); (b) the references to the "law" (e.g. 28:4-9; 29:18), which it is claimed means the legal code, not the prophetic use of the term as "instruction"; (c) the evils which apparently

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the view of a number of scholars that chaps. 25-29, especially 25-27, are older than 10:1-22:16, or contain in part older proverbs. The following are some of the reasons for this conclusion; (a) the proverbs of this collection, it is claimed, are less regular in form, thus indicating an earlier age; (b) the proverbs are more epigrammatic and forcible in many cases (e.g. 25:20, 22, 25, 28; 26:2 f., 11, 23; 27:17, 19, 22); and also (c) the fact that so many of the proverbs are secular rather than religious in their expression. (Opposite conclusions have been reached from proverbs common to the two sections, — according to Cheyne = 11 cases, cf. Job and Sol. 143.) Cf. further, HDB, iv. 141 (Nowack). Cornill, *Introd.* 446. Gordon, *Poets, etc.*, 261 ff.; also art. "Proverbs," *Ency. Brit.* (Davidson).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, iv. 141b (Nowack).

are those of an oppressive government, which uses a part of its people as instruments for this purpose (cf. 25:3 ff.; 28:2 f., 12, 15 ff.; 29:2); and (d) the fact also that no catastrophe is apparently impending, as would naturally be reflected if it belonged to the time of Hezekiah.

On the assumption, it may be added, of a pre-exilic date for chaps. 25-29, it would also be possible to hold, as suggested above (pp. 120; 313, v. s.), that they may have had a post-exilic revision.

c. Chaps. 22:17-24:22, "Words of the wise" (cf. 22:17a) and 24:23-34, additional, "Sayings of the wise" (cf. 24:23). These two sections are generally regarded as later than chaps. 10:1-22:16, to which they form appendices. They are not improbably later also than chaps. 25-29.

The reasons for this conclusion are: (a) their position as appendices to 10:1-22:16; (b) the more complicated and elaborate type of proverb contained therein (*e.g.* 23:29-35; 24:30-34); and (c) cf. also the repetition of thought from the main section (*e.g.* 24:5 f. with 11:14; 24:19 f. with 13:9); also the use of older models indicating a later date (cf. 23:27 with 22:14).

It is impossible, however, to determine definitely the date. From the reference to fearing Jehovah and the king (24:21) their pre-exilic compilation is claimed. "The vice, extravagance and oppression" described (cf. 22:22 f.; 23:1 ff., 20 ff., 26 ff., etc.) is in harmony with all that is known of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., from the prophetic writings. The hortatory tone (cf. 22:17 ff.; 24:23 ff.), from its similarity to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, favors a time at least as late as Josiah's reign, 639-608 B.C.

This conclusion, however, though held by eminent scholars is far from certain, as there are other reasons which, taken with the above, strongly favor a post-exilic date, cf. p. 314, v. *t*.

The remaining chapters and sections of Proverbs are discussed in the Grecian period. (Pp. 283 ff.; 312 ff., v.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Proverbs, pp. 283 ff. See also LOT, 392 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 152 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 151 ff., 199. McFadyen, *Introd.* 256 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 437 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 142 ff. Moore, LOT, 228 ff. HDB, iv. 139 ff. (Nowack); 13a (Budde); 924b ff. (Siegfried); 565b ff. (Flint); extra vol. 728b f. (Kautzsch). EBi, iii. 3906 ff. (Toy); 3794 f., 3801 (Duhm); iv. 5322 ff. (Toy); cf. 4686 (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Prov.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Toy); *Camb. B.* (Perowne); *Expos. B.* (Horton); *Cen. B.* (Martin).

## 4. LEGAL LITERATURE. THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE

Reference has previously been made to the fact that the law book discovered in 621 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 22:3 ff.) was the main section of the present book of Deuteronomy (cf. p. 23).

Scholars are not agreed whether chaps. 5-11, which form an introduction to the legal portion proper, are a part of the original law book or not. According to some authorities they belong to the same author dating somewhat later; according to others they were prefixed by another (later) writer.

This view in reference to Deuteronomy, which is now commonly held by Old Testament critics, is based upon the following facts:—

a. The discovered law book is referred to in the book of Kings as the "words of the book of the covenant," or "words of this covenant" (cf. 2 Ki. 23:1 f., 21). This is the same term applied to the Deuteronomic Code (*e.g.* Deut. 29:1, 9, 21, 25; cf. 5:2 f.; 17:2, etc.). It is also designated the "book of the law" (2 Ki. 22:8, 11; cf. 23:24 f.). This name is found in the Pentateuch only in Deuteronomy (D or D<sup>2</sup>) and means there the Deuteronomic legislation (*e.g.* Deut. 28:61; 29:20; 30:10, etc.).

b. The different measures of religious reform, based upon the discovered law book, which Josiah carried out, viz. relating to feasts, wizards, centralization of worship and star cultus, etc., correspond more closely to the provisions of Deuteronomy than to any other one of the legal codes.

This correspondence will be seen by comparing the following passages, 2 Ki. 23:4-6 with Deut. 17:3; 12:2 f. 2 Ki. 23:7 with Deut. 23:17 f. 2 Ki. 23:8, 13 ff., 19 with Deut. 12:2 f.; 16:21 f. 2 Ki. 23:9b with Deut. 18:6, 8. 2 Ki. 23:10 with Deut. 18:10. 2 Ki. 23:13, 5 with Deut. 6:14; 11:28; 17:3, etc. 2 Ki. 23:21, 23 with Deut. 16:5 f. 2 Ki. 23:24 with Deut. 18:11 ff.

Bennett, Primer, etc., 10, 61, 95 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 52 f. (§ 910). Kent, Wise Men, etc., espec. 62 ff. Kent, United Kingd. 185 ff. Kent, Divided Kingd. 181 f. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 432 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 19 f., 311. Gordon, Poets, etc., 255 ff. G. A. Smith, Modern Crit., etc., 286, 300 ff. Davidson on Prov. in "Book by Book," 172 ff. Cheyne, Job and Sol. 117 ff., 165 ff. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, xvi, 126 ff. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 337 ff. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 111 f. Sanday, Inspir. 200 ff., 247 ff. Cf. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 343 ff.

It is also to be noted that several of these laws are found as well in other Codes, but Josiah's action was evidently based on a law book discovered which *contained all these provisions*. Further, the Passover observed was more in accord with the enactment of Deuteronomy (cf. chap. 16) than with the provisions for the observance of this feast given in any of the other Codes.

c. The king's evident consternation when the law book was read to him (2 Ki. 22:11); also the reference to "all the words (*i.e.* of evil) of the book" (vs. 16) can be most naturally explained by such passages in Deuteronomy as 12:2-7; 18:9-14; chap. 28 (especially vss. 15 ff.); cf. 6:4 f., 14 f.

The code of laws, Ex. 20:22-23:33 is also called the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 24:7), but it does not fulfil the conditions so well as Deuteronomy. Thus (a) the Code in Exodus contains little denunciation, nor do its provisions correspond so well with Josiah's reforms: *e.g.* (a) prohibition of idolatry, one vs. (Ex. 22:20), cf. six vss. in Deut. (17:2-7), in which *worship of the heavenly bodies is specified*. Note also the fact that star cultus was first introduced into Judah in the second half of the 8th century B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 16:10 f. with 23:11 f., 4 f., also 21:3, 5); (β) again, only one vs. is found in the code in Exodus relating to the Passover, under the name of "unleavened bread," Ex. 23:15 as cf. with Deut. 16:1-8. And (b) further, taking the legal material of the Pentateuch as a whole, the *ceremonial* element rather than the *minatory* is the prominent feature. Cf. the reform of Neh. 10 which was based on the Priestly Code.

An additional reason confirming the conclusion that Deuteronomy, and not the whole law, is referred to in the passage in Kings, is the fact that it took only a short time to read it. It was read five times within a brief period (cf. 2 Ki. 22:8, 10 f., 14 f.; 23:2).<sup>1</sup>

The date of the composition of Deuteronomy, — that is the main section of it, — is now commonly held to have been some time in the seventh century B.C., prior to 621 B.C., when it was discovered (2 Ki. 22). The following are some of the principal facts upon which this conclusion is based: —

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that it is the view of some scholars that only selected portions of Deut. were read on these occasions. According to others within chaps. 5-26, 28 are to be found a number of interpolated or editorial sections of subsequent date, *i.e.* that the original size of the Code was smaller than at present. Cf. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 50. Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 144 f. Gray, *Introd.* 32. Robinson, *Deut. etc.*, 11 f.

a. Deuteronomy depends upon the Prophetic (J and E) sources of the Hexateuch, both for its historical material and its legal enactments (of which the forms in Deuteronomy are in many cases expansions and adaptations), and hence it is later than these.<sup>1</sup>

b. "Pillars" are frequently mentioned in connection with worship previous to the seventh century B.C. (cf. Gen. 28:18, 22 (E); 31:45 (E); 35:20 (J or JE); Josh. 24:26 (E); 1 Sam. 6:14; 7:12; 2 Sam. 20:8; 1 Ki. 1:9; 7:21; Hosea 3:4). But according to Deuteronomy their use is forbidden (cf. 16:22; 12:3). The natural inference is that the composition of Deuteronomy was later than the time when the "pillars" were recognized as legitimate religious symbols, i.e. as late as the seventh century.

Isa. 19:19, referring to a "pillar" as a legitimate religious symbol, would also be another strong proof if its Isaianic authorship was certain, but this is questioned now by many scholars. Cf., however, Whitehouse, Isa. in loc.

According to W. R. Smith this argument from the "pillars" is one of the clearest proofs of the late date of Deuteronomy.<sup>2</sup>

c. From the time of the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine onward, frequent mention is made of local sanctuaries and altars at other places besides where the Ark was located, — such evidently being regarded as legitimate places of worship. Cf. especially Josh. 24:1b, 26b; 1 Sam. 6:14; 7:9 f., 17; 9:12-14; 10:3, 5, 8; 11:15; 14:35; 2 Sam. 15:12, 32; 1 Ki. 3:4; 18:30; 19:10 ("thrown down *thine altars*"), etc.

Reference is also made repeatedly to laymen officiating at sacrifices without offence. Cf. Judg. 6:26; 13:19; 17:5; 1 Sam. 13:8 ff.; 14:35; 2 Sam. 6:14, 18; 8:18 and 20:26 (R. V. marg.); 1 Ki. 9:25, etc. These customs were in agreement with the regulations for worship in the "Book of the Covenant" (cf. Ex. 20:24-26), according to which sacrifices could be offered at different places and were not restricted to a priestly class.

<sup>1</sup> For the dependence of the historical reviews, Deut. 1:6-4:40, etc., on JE, cf. p. 40, iii. l. For the relation of the laws of Deut. to those of the Book of the Covenant, cf. LOT, 73 ff. Driver, Deut. iii ff. CHB, Hex. i. 72 ff., 75. HDB, i. 600b (Ryle).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 354.



In early times "sacrifices could be offered by a man of any tribe, as by a house-father for his household or by a king for his people."<sup>1</sup>

"Even the prophecy of the eighth century only called for their (*i.e.* the local sanctuaries) reform; it did not contemplate their extinction."<sup>2</sup>

According to Deuteronomy, however, all sacrifice was to be offered at one central sanctuary (12:5 ff.; 16:1 ff.; cf. 14:23, etc.), and by "the priests, the Levites" alone (cf. 18:1 ff.). These facts indicate that the date of Deuteronomy is later than the eighth century.

This Deuteronomic enactment was in the interest of purity of worship, in view of the idolatrous practices connected with the local shrines. It was the formulation of a growing movement toward centralization, from the time of the establishment of the Temple at Jerusalem by Solomon (1 Ki. 6-8), and which led Hezekiah, probably in the latter part of his reign, to attempt to suppress the "high places" (2 Ki. 18:4, 22; cf. 21:3).<sup>3 4</sup>

*d.* Another confirmation of the seventh century date is found in the influence of the eighth century prophetic teaching, as seen in the lofty motives inculcated in the hortatory portions, in the exalted character of God depicted and the pure monotheism emphasized, as well as in the modification of the older law in the interests of justice and humanity; *e.g.* love to God (6:5; 10:12; 13:3; 19:9, etc); God's

<sup>1</sup> McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 18 (§ 863). Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 114.

<sup>2</sup> CHB, Hex. i. 86.

<sup>3</sup> The centralization of the worship at the "Temple at Jerusalem presupposes the disappearance of the Ten Tribes and the prophetic teaching of Isaiah about the central significance and inviolability of Mount Zion." Cornill, Introd. 61 f. This radical change was also in the interest of monotheism. The worship of Jehovah at the different "high places" "was nothing more than the old Baal (*i.e.* of the Canaanitish worship) of that shrine under the name of Jehovah. The Jehovah of this place was different from the Jehovah of that place, and while the name of Jehovah was used, there was a real polytheism, the worship not of one Jehovah, but of many Jehovahs. The motto of the Deuteronomist, contained in the prophetic introduction to the code, may be said to be this: 'Hear, O Israel! Jehovah our god, is one Jehovah' (6:4). To bring about this unity of Jehovah it was a practical necessity to confine His worship to one shrine." Peters, Relig. Hebrs. 341 f.

<sup>4</sup> For the view that the writer or writers of the Deut. Code do not think of the law of the central sanctuary as applicable prior to the establishment of Solomon's Temple, cf. A. Harper, Deut. 14 f. HDB, extra vol. 717a (Kautzsch). Cf. also the view of R<sup>p</sup> in 1 Ki. 3:2.

unity (6:4; 10:17); His love for Israel (7:8, 13; 10:15; 23:5b; cf. Hosea, chap. 11); justice and consideration towards the helpless (15:7 ff.; 19:16; 24:10 ff., 17 ff.); cf. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah.

Notice in addition (a) the modification of the law of release of bondslaves from its original form as found in the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 21:2-11), in the interest of humanity in the Deut. Code (cf. 15:12-17). This is an indication of prophetic influence. Cf. also (b) the law of the Sabbatic year in Deut. 15:1-11 with Ex. 23:10 f.

In reference to the inculcating of justice and the lofty spirit of humanity, McCurdy remarks that "save on the one point of intolerance toward the enemies of Jehovah, it (*i.e.* Deuteronomy) stands in these aspects almost upon the New Testament level."<sup>1</sup>

e. Another significant fact is that in the writings previous to 621 B.C. (*e.g.* Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, etc.), there is no clear trace of Deuteronomy in the language; but in the writings after that date it is very marked (*e.g.* Jeremiah, Joshua, Judges and Kings). From this the logical conclusion is that the book of Deuteronomy was unknown to the eighth century writers, and that probably it was not composed till the seventh century.

The distinct style of Deuteronomy, as indicating difference of authorship from the other legal codes, is also an important evidence. For the Deuteronomic phraseology, cf. p. 19 and refs.

According to Dillmann, "the style of Deuteronomy implies a long development of the art of public oratory, and is not of a character to belong to the first age of Israelitish literature."<sup>2</sup>

While there is unanimity of opinion among scholars that Deuteronomy was composed in the seventh century, they are not agreed as to which part of it its date should most reasonably be assigned. A probable time is during the reaction to heathenism in the reign of Manasseh (2 Ki. 21:1 ff.), when a prophetic writer, unable openly to express his views, owing to the persecution of the adherents of Jehovah by the king (cf. vs. 16), reformulated the earlier code of laws (=the "Book of the Covenant," cf. below, p. 129) to meet the conditions of a more developed national life. Such a writer (or writers) may reasonably be thought of as divinely led to interpret

<sup>1</sup> McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 16 (§ 859).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. citation in LOT, 88.

those laws (many of which had doubtless changed with the growth of the nation), in order to safeguard the spiritual interests of the people against the various evils of the time, — the corrupt worship of the “high places” and the influx of the Babylonian religious cult (cf. 2 Ki. 21:2–7; 23:4 ff.). This reformulated Code, which was discovered by Hilkiah in 621 B.C. (2 Ki. 22:5 ff.) in the Temple, may have been placed there after it had been written for safekeeping, owing to the troublous times, where it was overlooked and forgotten; or possibly it may have been “forcibly suppressed or silently withdrawn” by its author.

The date of Deut. in the 7th century B.C. according to Budde is “one of the most absolutely assured results of Biblical criticism.” Cf. also the statement of Cheyne that “the Israel,” described in Deut., “is separated from the Israel of the Exodus by a complete social revolution.”<sup>1</sup>

That Deuteronomy was composed under prophetic influence is the view commonly held. McCurdy, however, thinks it was formulated under priestly auspices. This explains the fact of its discovery in the Temple. He also maintains that the Hebrew word (מָצָא), translated “found” (2 Ki. 22:8), does not of necessity indicate the discovery of a book which had been lost, but merely to light upon in some way.<sup>2</sup>

Other dates in the 7th century for Deut. favored by scholars are (a) the close of the reign of Hezekiah, in connection with, or as the outgrowth after, the reforms of that king, which many believe were not carried out till the repulse of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 18:4 f.), e.g. G. A. Smith, Andrew Harper, Kittel;<sup>3</sup> or (b) the early part of the reign of Josiah, i.e. 639–621 B.C., e.g. Budde, Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, Moore, Ryle, Cornill, Robinson, etc.<sup>4</sup>

One of the objections raised against dating Deut. in the reign of Manasseh is the absence of traces in the book of the persecution to which the adherents of Jehovah were subjected at that time (cf. 2 Ki. 21:16).

<sup>1</sup> Budde, *Relig. Isr.* 171. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 71.

<sup>2</sup> McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 9 f. (§§ 847 f.). For the explanation of the motive of a prophetic writer using a legal code to express his teaching, cf. Driver, *Deut.* lx f. Cf. Kittel's view that the author, like Jeremiah, belonged to the humbler class of priests. *Scient. Study O. T.* 83.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Smith, *Bk. of XII*, ii. 9 f. Harper, *Deut.* 29. Kittel, *Scient. Study O. T.* 83 f.

<sup>4</sup> Budde, *Relig. Isr.* 172. CHB, *Hex.* i. 96 f. EBi. i. 1086 (Moore). Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 56 f. Cornill, *Introd.* 62, 539. Robinson, *Deut.* etc., 16.

On the other hand, that this Code was not composed by Hilkiah is shown by the fact, it is claimed, that the priests of the "high places" are accorded a status on an equality with those of the Temple (Deut. 18:6 f.), which, it is known, the latter did not grant to them after the Code was adopted (2 Ki. 23:8 f.).<sup>1</sup>

In coming to this conclusion as to the date of Deuteronomy, the reader is reminded of a caution expressed in connection with the discussion of the date of the documents of the Hexateuch (cf. pp. 27 ff.). The laws of Deuteronomy are based upon those found in the ancient "Book of the Covenant" (except Ex. 21:18-22:15),<sup>2</sup> incorporated verbatim or with such changes as would naturally be expected in their adaptation to the new conditions of a later age. Many laws not found in this old Code give evidence of antiquity (cf. especially the section, 21:10-25:19), or are the expression of ancient custom in Deuteronomic language (e.g. 17:8-13; 19:16-21; 21:1-9).

Since Hebrew law was to such an extent the outgrowth of Mosaic principles, here, as in the case of later formulations (H and P), in accordance with the common Oriental, dramatic and vivid method of literary presentation, this Code was directly attributed to Moses, — thus identifying "the stream with the source."

Driver well says, that "the new element in Deuteronomy is not the laws but their parenetic setting" . . . "Deuteronomy may be described as the *prophetic reformulation and adaptation to new needs of an older legislation.*"<sup>3</sup> Cf. also what was stated in reference to the different documents of the historical books in this volume (pp. 6 f.).

Budde also remarks that the claim of Deuteronomy "to be the lawbook of Moses is meant in all seriousness and is objectively justified. For it had adopted all that had appeared up to that time with claim to Mosaic authority."<sup>4</sup>

To these may be added the judgment of Kautzsch: "In ancient Israel it was regarded as a sacred duty to give as Moses'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kittel, *Scient. Study O. T.* 81 f. See further McNeile, Deut. 35; also the view of Robinson on 2 Ki. 23:8 f., that it was due to the reformers who exceeded "Deut. in the rigorous application of its polemic against the high places" (his Deut. etc., 11).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, the remarks of Moore, EBi, i. 1083.

<sup>3</sup> Driver, Deut. lxi. LOT, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Budde, Relig. Isr. 172.

own words anything that had to be promulgated for the good of the people in continuation of his work and in the sense and spirit of his laws (for instance and very specially the legislation of Deuteronomy). The idea of forgery, however natural it may be to *us*, is quite out of question here.”<sup>1 2</sup>

## 5. POETICAL WRITINGS<sup>3</sup>

*A. Pre-Exilic (Divided Kingdom) Psalms (?)*. While the different divisions and collections composing our present Psalter date from post-exilic times, as has been noticed previously in the discussion of the question of Davidic psalms (p. 68; cf. also pp. 224–234), that does not necessarily preclude the possibility that they may contain some pre-exilic psalms or fragments of psalms. But whether any such have been preserved, and if so, what the particular psalms are, — these are questions of great difficulty, upon which the opinion of modern scholars is much divided. For convenience of treatment the following classification may be made of divergent views at present in reference to this subject:—

*a.* The view that pre-exilic psalms in considerable numbers have been preserved.

Cf. the Comms. of Ewald and Delitzsch; also more recently Kirkpatrick in *Camb. B. on Psal.*; Robertson, *Poet. and Relig.*,

<sup>1</sup> HDB, extra vol. 625*a*. Kautzsch, LOT, 65. Cf. also the excellent statement by Principal Harper, *Deut.* 30 f. See also HDB, ii. 368 (Woods). McFadyen, *Introd.* 52 f. Cornill, *Introd.* 62 f., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Deuteronomy, pp. 19 f.; also LOT, 69 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 48 ff., 71 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 62 ff., 190, 232. McFadyen, *Introd.* 46 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 46 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 31 ff., 42 ff. Moore, LOT, 57 ff. HDB, i. 596 ff. (Ryle); ii. 367 f. (Woods); iii. 68 f. (Driver). EBI, i. 1079 ff. (Moore); ii. 2051 (Wellhausen); iii. 2735 ff. (Gray). *Introductions in Comms. on Deut.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Driver); *Expos. B.* (A. Harper); *Cen. B.* (Robinson). CHB, *Hex. i.* pp. 70 ff., 85 ff.; ii. pp. 246 ff., 256 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 6 ff., 17 ff., 78 ff., 126 ff. (§§ 842 ff., 861 ff., 943 ff., 1019 ff.). McNeile, *Deut.* Chapman, *Introd.* Pent. 135 ff., cf. 111 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 66 ff. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, 256 ff., 318 ff., 353 ff., 363 ff., 395 ff. Kent, *Lawgivers*, 28 ff. Kent, *Isr. Laws and Precedents*, 31 ff. Kent, *Divided Kingd.* 163 f., 167, 176 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 260 ff. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 6 f., 376 ff., 437 ff., etc. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. pp. 48 ff.; ii. pp. 382 f. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 47 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 87 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 80 ff. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 48 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 267 ff. Budde, *Relig. Isr.*, 171 ff. Bacon, *Ex.* 247 ff. Kittel, *Scient. Study O. T.* 79 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 180 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 175 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The collections of Proverbs considered in a previous section (pp. 116 ff.) are also in poetry.

etc.; and Briggs in the Int. Crit. Comm. on Psal., who assigns 27 psalms (including Davidic) to pre-exilic times (cf. i. pp. lvii ff., lxxxix ff.).

*b. The view that their number is limited.*

Cf. Driver: "It may be affirmed . . . with tolerable confidence that very few of the Psalms are earlier than the 7th century B.C." (LOT, 384 f., cf. 380 f.). Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 143. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 220. Davison in HDB, iv. 151 f. and his Psal. 18 ff., 26 (= an intermediate position between Kirkpatrick and Driver). McFadyen, Psal. 22 ff.; his Introd. 248 f., etc.

*c. The view that there may be pre-exilic psalms, though it is impossible to identify them.*

Here may be noted the more recent view of Kautzsch: "It may be that in the Psalms there still survive scattered relics of pre-exilic religious poetry, etc." (HDB, extra vol. 723 *b*). Cf. G. A. Smith, Modern Crit., etc., 87. Gordon, Poets, etc., 100 ff. Moore, LOT, 225 f. Kent, Songs, etc., 42, 48. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 202 f., etc. Cf. also Gray, Introd. 134 ff., 141.

*d. The view that the existence of pre-exilic psalms is very doubtful if not improbable.*

Such is the conclusion of Wellhausen: "It is not a question whether there be any post-exilic Psalms, but rather whether the Psalms contain any poems written before the Exile." Cf. his Psalms (SBOT), 163. See also Cheyne in EBi, iii. 3938 ff., 3961; his Jew. Relig. Life, 124; his Introd. Isa. 171; his Founders, etc., 334 f.; his Aids, etc., 130 f. Duhm in EBi, iii. 3801. Cornill, Introd. 398 f.

On account of this wide range of opinion on this subject no attempt is made in this volume to determine what psalms are with certainty, more or less, to be assigned to this period. Those, however, which Kirkpatrick and Briggs have dated from different parts of this period are recorded as expressing the more conservative opinion of modern scholars. Occasional references to other psalms regarded as pre-exilic by other authorities are also given.<sup>1</sup>

*B. "The Blessing of Moses," Deuteronomy 33.* This poem written in the name of Moses is evidently later than his day,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for summaries of the position of different scholars on the dating of the psalms, EBi, iii. 3935 ff. Robertson, Poet. and Relig., etc., chap. 2. LOT, 388. Kirkpatrick, Psal. xxxvii f. Briggs, Psal. i. p. lvii.

as can be seen from (a) the past tenses in vss. 4 f.; and (b) the form "he said," which introduces each oracle in vss. 7-25.

The more definite date to which it is to be assigned depends upon the period of Israel's history, which corresponds to the condition of the different tribes described in the poem, *e.g.* (a) Reuben's feebleness (vs. 6); (b) Judah's distress (vs. 7); (c) Levi's priestly prominence (vss. 8-11); (d) the evident prosperity of the Northern tribes (vss. 13 ff.); (e) the fact that the tribe of Simeon is not mentioned, from which it is inferred that it had been already absorbed in Judah, when the poem was composed; (f) the existence of the Temple implied in Benjamin's territory (cf. vs. 12, "And he, *i.e.* Jehovah, dwelleth between the shoulders" = the mountains):<sup>1</sup> and (g) the conquest of Palestine, which is looked upon as past (vss. 27 f.). In view of these facts the poem is assigned by most recent scholars to the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II; possibly c. 780 or 770 B.C. (cf. Kent = c. 750 B.C.), which harmonizes well with the "general atmosphere of contentment and security in which the poem moves."

Some date the poem earlier in the reign of Jeroboam I, 937-915 B.C., *e.g.* Driver (cf. his Deut.), Dillmann, etc. A few place it still earlier in the time of the Judges, c. 1190?-c. 1040 B.C., *e.g.* Wade. Still others assign a much later date to it, *e.g.* exilic or later, cf. CHB, Hex. i. 163 f.

The origin of the poem in the Northern Kingdom is indicated by the enthusiasm manifested for it (vss. 13 ff.), and the prayer (7c) that Judah may be brought back into political unity with the other tribes. The poem is supposed to have been incorporated in E or JE, or possibly in JED.

Some scholars hold that vss. 2-5 and 26-29 were added at a later (post-exilic?) date.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the allusion in vs. 12 is to the sanctuary at Bethel (cf. Am. 7: 13).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further on the Blessing of Moses, LOT, 97 f. Bennett, *Intro.* 75. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 10. Kautzsch, LOT, 40 f., 183. McFadyen, *Intro.* 50 f. Cornill, *Intro.* 125 f. *Comms. on Deut. in loc.* (*e.g.* Driver, A. Harper, Robinson). HDB, iv. 11b (Budde). EBi, i. 1090 f. (Moore). McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 73 f. (§ 935). CHB, Hex. i. 163 f. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 61 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 41 f. Schmidt, *Poets*, 344 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 93 f., 215. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 209 f., 499. W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.* 49, 117 ff. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 131 f. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 19 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 130 f.

VII. B. THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED (937-586 B.C.) = 1 Ki. 12-2 Ki. 25:21; 2 Chr. 10:1-36:21. Prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39 (mostly), Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Ezekiel (in part). The Deuteronomic Code. Collections of Proverbs (?). Poems (including psalms?).<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION I, 937-913 B.C.

#### i. Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, 937-913 B.C.

##### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

##### *Rehoboam*, 937-920 B.C.

- 1 Ki. 12:1-24. Accession; revolt of tribes, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 10:1-11:4).
- 2 Chr. 11:5-23. *Fortifications; migration of Levites*, etc.
- 1 Ki. 14:21-28. His sinful reign; invasion by Shishak (cf. 2 Chr. 12:2a, 9a\*, 9b-11, 13), c. 932 B.C.
- 2 Chr. 12:1, 2b-9a\*, 12, 14-15a. *The king's apostasy; respite granted*, etc.
- 1 Ki. 14:29-31. The king's deeds and death (cf. 2 Chr. 12:15b-16).

##### *Abijam (Abijah)*, 920-917 B.C.

- 1 Ki. 14:31b; 15:1-8. His character and wars (cf. 2 Chr. 13:1-2: 14:1a).
- 2 Chr. 13:3-22. *His conflict with Jeroboam*, etc.

##### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

##### *Jeroboam I*, 937-915 B.C.

- 1 Ki. 12:1 ff. Petition of Israelites, etc.
- 12:20, 25-33. Calf worship adopted.
- 13. Incidents of the two prophets.
- 14:1-20. Incident of the sickness of the king's son; the king's death, etc.

##### *Nadab*, 915-913 B.C.

- 1 Ki. 14:19b + 15:25-31. His character and assassination.

<sup>1</sup> For other literary productions assigned to this period by different scholars, cf. pp. 134, ii; 135 f., ii; 138, ii; 140, ii; 142, ii. e.; 146 f., ii. d.; 151 f., iv. e.; 154, ii. b.; 161, ii. d.; 164 ff., ii. b. i.-m.



ii. *Literature which may possibly have originated in Jeroboam's reign.*

THE ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE JUDGES, at the basis of Judges 2: 6—chap. 16 + 17 f.; 19, may have been compiled in Jeroboam's reign.<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the historical material.*

a. In the historical sections of Kings, based on the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel, the material in this vol. designated as Deuteronomic (R<sup>D</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>) includes (especially from 1 Ki. 14: 19 onwards) the characteristic opening and closing formulæ of each reign (even though they contain historical notices, as in 1 Ki. 14: 30; 15: 12 f. etc.), together with the marked editorial comments and judgments.

b. The essential material peculiar to the Chronicler (Ch.) is printed in italics in the outline given above and on succeeding pages. Words, phrases and even parts of vss. (e.g. 2 C. 12: 13a) peculiar to Ch. which do not materially affect the narrative are not indicated in general. Thus, "cf. 2 Chr. 10: 1–11: 4" means that this section is practically parallel to that of Ki. with which it is connected in the Biblical outline. Note, however, also the Ch. vss. in these sections indicated in the notes on the following pages, under "Composition of the historical material."

c. 1 Ki. 12 is pre-Deut. (vss. 21–24 = probably late).<sup>2</sup>

d. It is the opinion of many scholars that the age of the present form of the story in 1 Ki. 13 is long subsequent to the time of the events described. It certainly is later than the foundation of Samaria (cf. vs. 32 with 16: 24). From the fact that the names of the prophets are not remembered, it is inferred that it was written long afterwards, — possibly in the time of Josiah or later (i.e. post-exilic), on the basis that in vs. 32 Samaria = the province of that name. (According to some vss. 33b–34 = R<sup>D</sup>.)

e. 1 Ki. 14 and 15: 1–8, 25–31 are Deut. in form, incorporating earlier, pre-Deut. material. Cf. R<sup>D</sup> (D<sup>2</sup>) = 14: 7–16, 18–24, 29–31; 15: 1–8, 25 f., 29b ("according, etc.")–31. See further on the section 1 Ki. 14: 19–16: 34, p. 136, iii. a.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. For the date 937 B.C., see Ap. C, p. 344, a.

b. The years assigned in the chronological outline for the dif-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 21 ff., 178, 234. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 57 (§ 917). Also p. 46 of this vol.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Ki. 12 originated in the Northern Kingdom, according to some authorities (cf. Cornill, Introd. 213). Note, however, the view that it is characterized by "noteworthy impartiality" (Moore, LOT, 106).

ferent kings are such as seem on the whole most probable, on the basis of Biblical chronology adjusted to the dates fixed by the Assyrian records. The conclusion, however, of Professor Curtis needs to be kept in mind, viz. "that only a few dates in Israel's history can be fixed with absolute certainty. The time of most events can only be given definitely within a space of two or three years." (HDB. i. 402 f.)

c. The invasion of Judah by Shishak (Shoshenk or Sheshonk) = c. 950-c. 930 B.C. (see p. 83, iv. f.), of which there is an inscription on a wall of the temple of Amen at Karnak, occurred in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (1 Ki. 14:25). According to the chronology adopted above the date would be 932 B.C.

## SECTION II, 917-875 B.C.

### i. Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, 917-875 B.C.

#### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

##### Asa, 917-876 B.C.

1 Ki. 15: 8b, 9-15. His religious zeal (cf. 2 Chr. 14:1-5; 15:16-19).

2 Chr. 14:6-15:15. *Defeat of the invading Ethiopian army, etc.*

1 Ki. 15:16-22 (cf. vs. 32). War with Baasha (cf. 2 Chr. 16:1-6).

2 Chr. 16:7-11. *Rebuked by the prophet.*

1 Ki. 15:23-24. His sickness and death (cf. 2 Chr. 16:12-14; 17:1a).

#### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

##### Baasha, 913-889 B.C.

1 Ki. 15: 27 ff., 32-16:7. Accession; warfare; character; the prophet Jehu.

##### Elah, 889-887 B.C.

1 Ki. 16:6b, 8-14. Accession and assassination.

##### Zimri, 887 B.C.

1 Ki. 16:9 ff., 15-20. His brief reign.

##### Omri, 887-875 B.C.

1 Ki. 16:15 ff., 21-28. Victory over rivals; deeds and character.

### ii. Literature which possibly originated in Judah-Israel, c. 917-c. 875 B.C.

a. According to some scholars, in the 10th or 9th century (possibly in the reigns of Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah) were compiled:—

(a) THE OLDER SAUL STORIES (in the kingdom of Israel) = 1 Sam. 9:1-10:16; 11:1-11, 15; 13 (largely); 14:1-46. See p. 48; cf. 74, iii. a.

(b) THE DAVIDIC STORIES (in the kingdom of Judah), found in 1 Sam. 16:14-23; 18:6\*, 7, 8b-11, 20, 21a, 22-26a, 27; 20:1-3,

11, 18-39; 23:1-5, 7-13, 19-24:12, 14-22; 25; 27-31 (in the main).<sup>1</sup>

b. According to Briggs the following 7 psalms in their original form date from the early Hebrew monarchy, prior to Jehoshaphat's reign (876 ff. B.C.), viz. 7; 13; 18; 23; 24:7-10; 60:6-10a; 110. Of these Ps. 18 in its original form (cf. p. 71, last paragraph) and possibly 7 and 60:6-10a = Davidic.<sup>2</sup>

### iii. *Composition of the historical material.*

a. In the section 1 Ki. 14:19-16:34 the history is largely a collection of short notices in Deuteronomic setting, i.e. an epitome of history derived probably from "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," plus the Deut. additions. In the material covering the reigns outlined above (15:9 ff.), R<sup>D</sup> (D<sup>2</sup>) = 15:9-15, 23 f., 32-34; 16:1-8, 12-15, 19 f., 23, 25-33. For the sections 14:1-15:8, 25-31, cf. p. 134, iii. e.

b. In 2 Chr. 14:1-5 and 15:16-19, Ch. = 14:1b, 4 f.; 15:19. 2 Chr. 16:12-14 = an expanded form of 1 Ki. 15:23b.

### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. Zerah (2 Chr. 14:9) has been identified by a number of scholars with either Osorkon I or II of Egypt = respectively 924-895; 874-853 B.C. (Breasted's dates). According to Paton, Zerah was a south Arabian monarch, basing his view on the fact that there was "an Arabian Cush (E. V. Ethiopia) as well as a Nubian."<sup>3</sup>

b. By comparison of 1 Ki. 16:15 with vss. 21 ff., it will be seen that Omri did not become king actually until after four years of conflict with Tibni.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 27 f., 178 f., etc. Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. 33 ff. The outline given above under (a) and (b) is practically the analysis of Kautzsch. For a somewhat different classification and analysis of these sections, adopted in this vol., cf. p. 74, iii. a.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs' Psal., i. pp. lxxxix ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paton, Hist. Syria, etc., 196 f.

## SECTION III, 876-842 B.C.

## i. Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, 876-842 B.C.

## KINGDOM OF JUDAH

*Jehoshaphat*, 876-851 B.C.

2 Chr. 17. *Cause of his success; prosperity of his kingdom, etc.*

1 Ki. 22:1 ff. *Coöperates with Ahab, etc.*

2 Chr. 19. *Rebuked by the prophet, etc.*

20:1-30. *Defeat of invading Ammonites and Moabites, etc.*

1 Ki. 15:24b; 22:41-50. *Summary of his reign (cf. 2 Chr. 20:31-37; 21:1).*

2 Ki. 3. *His coöperation with Israel. (Cf. under Jehoram of Isr.)*

*Jehoram (Joram)*, 851-842 B.C.

1 Ki. 22:50b; 2 Ki. 8:16. *His accession (cf. 2 Chr. 21:1b).*

2 Chr. 21:2-4. *Brothers put to death.*

2 Ki. 8:17-22. *Character; revolt of Edom, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 21:5, 20a, 6-10).*

2 Chr. 21:11-17. *His idolatry rebuked, etc.*

2 Ki. 8:23-24. *His death. Cf. 2 Chr. 21:18-19, 20b. His disease, etc.*

*Ahaziah*, 843-842 B.C.

2 Ki. 8:24b, 25-29; cf. 9:29. *His accession; character; co-operates with Jehoram of Isr. etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 22:1-6).*

9:21b ff., 27-29. *Slain by Jehu (cf. 2 Chr. 22:7-9).*

## KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

*Ahab*, 875-853 B.C.

1 Ki. 16:28b, 29-34. *Introduction of Baal worship, etc.*

17. *Elijah at Zarephath.*

18. *Elijah at Mount Carmel, etc.*

19. *Elijah at Mount Horeb, etc.*

20. *Conflict between Ahab and Ben-hadad, c. 857-856 B.C.*

21. *Naboth's vineyard.*

22:1-40. *Alliance of Ahab and Jehoshaphat against Syria, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 18:1-34).*

*Ahaziah*, 853-851 B.C.

1 Ki. 22:40b, 51-53. *Accession; character.*

2 Ki. 1. *Fate of messengers, etc.; death.*

*Jehoram (Joram)*, 851-842 B.C.

2 Ki. 1:17b. *His accession; cf. 3:1-3.*

2. *Ascension of Elijah, etc.*

3. *Invasion of Moab by Israel, etc.*

4. *Elisha and the Shunammite, etc.*

5. *Naaman healed, etc.*

5:1-23. *Syrian army thwarted, etc.*

6:24-7:20. *Siege of Samaria, etc.*

8:1-15. *Restoration of Shunammite's land, etc.*

9:1-26, 30-37. *Revolt of Jehu, etc.*

ii. *Literature which possibly originated in Jehoshaphat's reign.*

Ps. 83 is assigned to this reign by Kirkpatrick.<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the historical material.*

a. 1 Ki. 16:29-34 is Deuteronomic on the basis of early material. For the Deut. (R<sup>D</sup>) vss. see analysis, p. 136, iii. a.

b. In 2 Chr. 17:1-22:9, in addition to the Ch. sections indicated in the outline above, note the following Ch. vss. 18:1 f. + 31b (largely); 20:33b, 34, 35a\*, 37\*; 21:10b; 22:9b.

c. Prophetic tales (Pr. or El.) = 1 Ki. 17; 18; 19; 21 (largely); 2 Ki. 2; 4; 5; 6:1-23; 8:1-15; together with 13:14-21. Cf. also n. g below.

d. Prophetic *historical* source of the Northern Kingdom (E?) = 1 Ki. 20; 22:1-38; 2 Ki. 3; 6:24-7:20; 9 (largely); together with 10 (largely). Cf. also n. g below.

e. 1 Ki. 22:41-53 is an epitome of history incorporated by the Deut. compiler (R<sup>D</sup>). R<sup>D</sup> = vss. 41-45, 50-53.

f. 2 Ki. 8:16-29 is also an historical epitome in Deut. setting. R<sup>D</sup> = vss. 16-19, 23-27 (28 f.).

g. The following are some of the more important editorial (redactional) verses of different dates in the Prophetic tales and Prophetic history. 1 Ki. 18:31-32a (R<sup>P</sup>?); 19:9b-11a; (20:13 f., 22, 28), 35-43; 21:20b-22, 24-26 (R<sup>P</sup>); 22:38(?), 39 f. (R<sup>P</sup>); 2 Ki. 3:1-3 (R<sup>D</sup>); 9:7-10a, 29 (R<sup>P</sup>); 10:28-31. For variant views regarding editorial vss. in these sources, cf. Intros., Comms., etc.

h. In 2 K. 1, vs. 1 was derived from the historical annals and vs. 18 = Deuteronomic (R<sup>D</sup>). In reference to the main portion of the chapter, vss. 2-17, there is difference of opinion as to its source. According to some scholars, vss. 2-4, 17a = Prophetic tales (Pr., El.), and vss. 5-16 = from the time of the earlier Deut. compiler (R<sup>D</sup>). By others the whole section vss. 2-17 = late, post-exilic addition on the basis of an earlier narrative. The Hebrew form for Elijah differs here from the usual one.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The battle of Karkar, 854 B.C., in which, according to the annals of Shalmaneser III of Assyria, he defeated a confederacy

<sup>1</sup> "The book of the law of Jehovah," referred to in 2 Chr. 17:7-9, is thought by some scholars possibly to be the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:22-23:19 (33)), which may have been compiled at this time or earlier in the reign of Ahab. Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 29 ff., 180. See also Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. p. 135.

For the period to which this Code is assigned in this vol., cf. pp. 37 f., iv. b., also 54, iv. a.; 84, v. g.

of which Ahab and the king of Damascus were members, is one of the important dates to check the Biblical chronology. It is generally thought that this battle occurred within the three years of peace, between Syria and Israel, mentioned in 1 Ki. 22:1. Accordingly the siege of Samaria (1 Ki. 20:1 ff.) and the defeat of the Syrians at Aphek the following year (vss. 22 ff., 26 ff.) may be assigned approximately c. 857-856 B.C. See Ap. C, p. 345.

b. For the Moabite stone as related to the chronology of the reigns of Omri and Ahab, cf. Ap. C, p. 345.

c. For the chronological difficulties connected with the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel, cf. Ap. C, p. 345.

#### SECTION IV, 842-781 B.C.

##### i. Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, 842-781 B.C.

###### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

###### *Athaliah*, 842-836 B.C.

2 Ki. 11:1-20. Her usurpation and overthrow (cf. 2 Chr. 22:10-23:21).

###### *Jehoash (Joash)*, 836-796 B.C.

2 Ki. 11:21-12:16. His character; repairing the Temple (cf. 2 Chr. 24:1-14a).

2 Chr. 24:14b-22. *His apostasy*, etc.

2 Ki. 12:17-21. Murder of the king, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 24:23-27).

###### *Amaziah*, 796-782 (?) B.C.

2 Ki. 12:21b; 14:1-6. Slays his father's murderers (cf. 2 Chr. 25:1-4).

2 Chr. 25:5-10, 13. *Dismisses Israelitish mercenaries*.

2 Ki. 14:7. Victory over Edom (cf. 2 Chr. 25:11 f.).

2 Chr. 25:14-16. *His apostasy*, etc.

2 Ki. 14:8-14, 17-20. Defeat by Israel; his murder (cf. 2 Chr. 25:17-28).

###### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

###### *Jehu*, 842-814 B.C.

2 Ki. 9. Steps leading to his accession, etc.

10. Massacre of Ahab's family and Baal worshippers, etc.

###### *Jehoahaz*, 814-797 B.C.

2 Ki. 10:35b; 13:1-9, 22. Character; Syrian invasions.

###### *Jehoash (Joash)*, 797-781 B.C.

2 Ki. 13:9b, 10-21, 23-25. His character; tales of Elisha, etc.

14:8 ff. Victory over Amaziah, etc. (cf. under Amaziah of Judah).

14:15 f. His character and death.

ii. *Literature which may have originated c. 800 B.C.*

"The Book of the Acts of Solomon" (cf. 1 Ki. 11:41) according to some authorities.<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the historical material.*

a. For the sources of 2 Ki. 9, 10, and 13:14-21, cf. 138, iii. c. d.

b. 2 Ki. 10:28-31, 32-12:21; 13:1-13, 22-25; 14:1-20 are Deut. (R<sup>D</sup>) in form, compiled from the historical annals of the two Kingdoms. R<sup>D</sup> = 10:28-31, 34-36; 11:21-12:3, 19-21; 13:1-2, 4-6, 8-13, 23; 14:1-6, 15-18. Some of these vss. may possibly be even later. Cf. Skinner, Ki. in loc.

Note that, according to some scholars, 11:1-12:16 (or simply 12:4-16) was derived from the Temple records, with R<sup>D</sup> additions; cf. above.

c. In 2 Chr. 22:10-25:28 in addition to the Ch. material indicated in the above outline of Biblical records, cf. Ch. changes espec. in 23:2, 4, 6-8; in 24:6, 9, 14a, 23-27 (largely); 25:11a, 12, 20b, 27a.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. According to Assyrian records Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 842 B.C. This is generally believed to have been given at the beginning of his reign, in connection with an Assyrian campaign against Hazael of Damascus in that year; hence the date 842 B.C. for the accession of Athaliah and Jehu. Cf. further Ap. C, p. 344, a.

b. It is thought by several scholars that the events described in 2 Ki. 6:24-7:20 belong to the reign of Jehoahaz for the following reasons: (a) that it is not probable that Syria, which had been invaded by Assyria in 850, 849 and 846 B.C., was in a position to attack Israel between 849-846 B.C. (= the time in the reign of Jehoram to which it is commonly assigned), especially as Israel and Judah were at that time allied. (b) The placing of this section in the reign of Jehoahaz harmonizes with the condition of affairs at this later date, when Israel was ground down and ravaged by Syrian armies (cf. 2 Ki. 13:3, 22; Am. 1:3, etc.), and (c) the description of the king as the "son of a murderer" (2 Ki. 6:32) is especially appropriate to Jehoahaz the son of Jehu. In case of this later setting being adopted, the Ben-hadad mentioned in the section is Ben-hadad III.

c. It may be noted in explanation of the varied fortunes of Israel under Jehu, Jehoahaz, Joash and Jeroboam II (842-c. 740 B.C.), that after 839 B.C. for many years Assyria did not send any army against Damascus (Syria). This left that power free to ravage Israel (2 Ki. 10:32 f.; 13:3, 22). By the cam-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further p. 59.

paings of Ramman (Adad)-nirari IV of Assyria in 803 and 797 B.C. against Damascus the Syrian power was greatly crippled, thus enabling Israel to regain its lost territory (2 Ki. 13:5, 23, 25). Some refer the "saviour" (2 Ki. 13:5) to the Assyrian king. As the Assyrian kings for the next 50 years, with the exception of 773 B.C., did not meddle with Damascus, this gave Israel its opportunity of expansion under Joash and Jeroboam II (2 Ki. 13:23 ff.; 14:25 ff.).<sup>1</sup>

d. For chronological difficulties connected with Amaziah's reign, and for explanation of the dating adopted above, see Ap. C, pp. 346 f. (a).

## SECTION V, c. 780-740 B.C.

### i. *Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, c. 780-740 B.C.*

#### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

*Uzziah (Azariah), 782 (?)—  
c. 740 B.C.*

2 Ki. 14:21 f. His accession,  
etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 26:1 f.).

15:1-4. His reign and  
character (cf. 2 Chr. 26:3-5).

2 Chr. 26:6-15. *His wars, etc.*

2 Ki. 15:5-7. Regency of  
Jotham, etc.

Cf. 2 Chr. 26:16-23. *Sin and  
punishment.*

#### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

*Jeroboam II, 781-c. 740 B.C.*

2 Ki. 14:16b, 23-29. His do-  
minion and wars.

### ii. *Literary productions of the Northern Kingdom (Israel), c. 780-740 B.C.*

a. (Isaiah 15:1-16:12. Moab's-distress and hopeless outlook.)

b. Deut. 33. "Blessing of Moses" = characterization of the  
different tribes, c. 780-770 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

c. Prophetic messages of Amos, c. 760-750 B.C.

Chaps. 1-2. Arraignment of surrounding nations; also Judah  
and Israel.

3-6. Gross social evils of the nation depicted, etc.

7-9. Visions in which the nation's doom is empha-  
sized, etc.

<sup>1</sup> "M. Pognon, the French consul in Mesopotamia, thinks, however, that the cause of the weakness of Damascus was another Aramean kingdom of Hazrak, which flourished for about fifty years." Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Note the fact that some scholars hold that vss. 2-5 and 26-29 were added at a later (post-exilic?) date. Cf. Comms. in loc.

Note the date for this poem c. 750 B.C., Kent, Songs, etc., 61 f.



d. Prophetic messages of HOSEA, chaps. 1-3, c. 750-740 B.C. Chap. 1:1-9. The prophet's unfaithful wife, etc.

2:2-23. Israel's unfaithfulness, punishment and restoration.

3:1-5 + 1:10-2:1. Restoration of the prophet's wife, etc.

e. Other literary productions which may be included in this period.

(a) The Prophetic narratives of the Hexateuch, J (in Judah) and E (in Israel). See pp. 13 ff., 20 ff. = prior to Amos. c. 900 (or 850)-760 B.C.

(b) The Memoirs of Elijah and Elisha (El. or Pr.) = 1 Ki. 17-19; 21 (mostly); 2 Ki. 2; 4:1-6:23; 8:1-15; 13:14-21.

Elijah stories probably not much later than 800 B.C.

Elisha stories somewhat later than Elijah stories. See pp. 59 f.

(c) The Prophetic narratives relating to the kings of Israel found in 1 Ki. 20; 22:1-38; 2 Ki. 3; 6:24-7:20; 9-10 (mostly). (E?.)

Probably contemporary with the Elijah stories. See p. 59 (c).<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the history and literary productions.*

a. 2 Ki. 14:21-15:7 is an epitome of history incorporated by the Deut. compiler. R<sup>p</sup> = 14:23 f., 26-29; 15:1-4, 6 f.

b. In 2 Chr. 26, in addition to the Ch. portion indicated in the outline given above, note vs. 5. In vss. 16 ff., vss. 20b and 23 (in part) + 21 (largely) = 2 Ki. 15:5, 7.

c. Several portions of Amos are considered by different scholars to be editorial additions. (a) Some as 4:13; 5:8 f.; and 9:5 f. are questioned on account of the conception of God's creative power which was not made prominent in Hebrew literature till the Exile (cf. Isa. 40:22; 42:5, etc.), and (b) others as 1:11 f. = Edom, because reflecting the hostility of later times against this power; and 2:4 f. = Judah, on account of the Deut. style and the general character of the charges. Other vss. regarded as doubtful are 1:9 f.; 6:2; 8:13.

d. The epilogue of Amos, 9:8(or 8b)-15 is regarded by many scholars as a later addition. Note (a) the downfall of the Davidic kingdom and the dispersion of the Jews presupposed in vss. 9, 11; (b) hostility to Edom vs. 12, cf. above n. c; and (c) the absence of any moral element in the description of restoration, cf. 5:24 (= G. A. Smith). Cf. contra, espec. Driver. See further on these passages in Amos (notes c-d) Comms. and Intros. in loc.

<sup>1</sup> The Decalogue, Ex. 20:1-21 (cf. Deut. 5:6 ff.), in its original form, is dated c. 750 B.C. by some scholars (cf. Harper, Amos, lxii, clxxxv; EBi, i. 1050 = Addis, etc.). Note also the view of Kautzsch that the expanded form of the Decalogue (see p. 38, c) belongs to the later stages of development of the religion of Israel, but not necessarily after the 8th century prophets (HDB, extra vol. 634). See, however, this vol. p. 38, iv. c.

e. Hos. 1:7 and other passages which refer to Judah (cf. vss. 11; 3:5, etc.; cf. p. 145, iii. g) are classed by a number of scholars doubtful verses, as they disturb the connection of thought and hence are either alterations of the text or later insertions.

f. Hos. 1:10-2:1 is considered to be out of place in its present position in the Biblical text for the following reasons: (a) it contains a promise of restoration before punishment is described or the conditions of renovation are stated; and (b) it is unconnected as it stands with what precedes or follows. It would follow logically 3:5 as arranged above, or 2:23. By some it is regarded in whole or part a later insertion. Cf. further on these vss. in Hosea (notes e-f) Comms. and Intros. in loc.<sup>1</sup>

(Hos. 2:16 and also the whole description of material blessings in the vss. following are taken as later additions by some scholars.)

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. For chronological difficulties connected with the reign of Uzziah (Azariah), and for explanation of the dating adopted above, cf. Ap. C, p. 347. The dates for the beginning of this reign, assigned by different authorities, vary from c. 790 to 779 or 777 B.C. There is more agreement on the year of its termination, e.g. c. 740 or 737 B.C.

b. The dates assigned to Jeroboam's reign vary according to different scholars from 790 to 781 B.C. for its beginning, and from 749 to c. 740 B.C. for its end.

### SECTION VI, c. 740-735 B.C.

#### i. *Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, c. 740-735 B.C.*

##### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

**Jotham**, c. 740-735 B.C.

Cf. 2 Ki. 15:5-7. His regency. 15:32-35, 37. Beginning of invasion by Syria and Israel (cf. 2 Chr. 27:1-2a\*, 3a).

2 Chr. 27:2a\*, 2b, 3b-6. *Fortifications*, etc.

2 Ki. 15:36, 38. His death (cf. 2 Chr. 27:7-9).

##### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

**Zechariah**, c. 740 B.C.

2 Ki. 14:29b; 15:8-12. His assassination.

**Shallum**, c. 740 B.C.

2 Ki. 15:10, 13-15. Slain by Menahem.

**Menahem**, c. 740-737(?) B.C.

2 Ki. 15:14, 16-22. Pays tribute to Assyria, etc.

**Pekahiah**, 737(?) - 735 B.C.

2 Ki. 15:22b, 23-26. His assassination.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver's order 1:1-9; 3:1-5; 2:2-23; 1:10-2:1. LOT, 303; cf. Kent, Sermons, etc., 82 ff.

ii. *Literary productions of Judah and Israel, c. 740-735 B.C.*

a. JUDAH = *Isaiah's messages in the reign of Jotham and the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. c. 740-735 B.C.*

Chap. 6. The prophet's call. c. 740 B.C.

2-4. Judah's sin, punishment and redemption.

5:1-24 (25) + 9:8-10:4 + 5:(25) 26-30 = woes pronounced upon national sins, etc.

17:1-11. Syria and Israel to be destroyed.

b. ISRAEL = *Prophetic messages of Hosea, chaps. 4-14. c. 740-736 B.C.*

Chaps. 4-8. Gross corruption of Israel's leaders, civil and religious, etc.

9:1-11:11. Impending and inevitable punishment.

11:12-14:9. Sin, punishment and restoration, etc.

iii. *Composition of the history and literary productions.*

a. 2 Ki. 15:8-38 is an historical epitome incorporated by the Deut. compiler. R<sup>p</sup> = vss. 8 f., 11-13, 15, 17 f., 21-24, 26-28, 31-38. For 15:5-7, cf. p. 142, iii. a.

b. In 2 Chr. 27, vs. 7 also = Ch. Vss. 1-2a\* + 3a = abbreviated from 2 Ki. 15:32-35, 37.

c. In the sections of Isaiah given above, it is to be noticed that the transposition of 9:8-10:4 (relating to the Northern Kingdom) to the position given it, is in accordance with the order followed by all scholars now. The following are the reasons for this rearrangement: (a) the section is evidently out of place in the Biblical text; (b) the refrain of 9:12, 17, 21, and 10:4 is found in 5:25 but not elsewhere in that chapter; and (c) 5:26-30 forms a fitting climax to the whole description, which at 10:4 seems unfinished. See Comms., etc., in loc.

d. Isa. 2:2-4 is found with slight variations in Mic. 4:1-3. Different explanations have been given of this parallelism, such as one prophet borrowing from the other, or both quoting from some well-known prophetic oracle. Recent scholars favor the view that this section is a later insertion in both prophecies; e.g. Cheyne, on the ground especially of its three leading ideas, viz. prediction of Jehovah's sovereignty over foreign nations and their adoption of His law; the supremacy of the Temple at Jerusalem; and the strong feeling against war, which he maintains are all conceptions of post-exilic writers (cf. his *Introd. Isa.*). Cf. contra, G. A. Smith, *Bk. of XII*, i. 365 ff., 401 f.; also Whitehouse, *Isa.* (= product of Isaiah's later ministry). Cf. further Comms. and Intros. in loc.

e. Isa. 2:20-22 and 3:18-23 are sections which a number of scholars consider later additions. Cf. Comms. and Intros. in loc.

f. On the ground of style and words and the predominantly late ideas and images a number of scholars regard Isa. 4:2-6 in whole or part (= vss. 5 f.) a later addition. Cf., however, Skinner, who calls attention to the fact that the main ideas of the section are paralleled in other parts of Isaiah. Cf. further Comms. and Intros. in loc.

g. In Hosea 4-14 in addition to the vss. or parts of vss. referring to Judah, e.g. 4:15; 5:5; 6:11; 8:14; 10:11; 11:12 (cf. also 5:10, 12-14; 6:4; 12:2, which a number of scholars retain substituting "Israel" for "Judah"), which are questioned (p. 143, iii. e.) the section 14:1-8 is regarded by some critics as a later addition, especially on the ground that it weakens the stern warning of chap. 13. Chap. 14, however, may have been uttered prior to chap. 13, its present position being due to editorial adjustment in order that the prophecy might end with a message of hope. It is also to be noted that the thoughts of this section are all paralleled in previous chapters of this prophecy (vs. 1, cf. 6:6; vs. 3, cf. 12:1, etc.; vs. 4, cf. 11:4, 8 f.; vss. 5 ff., cf. 2:21 ff.). It forms a most appropriate conclusion to the prophecy whenever and by whomever it may have been written. Vs. 9 is considered by many scholars an editorial addition, calling attention to the significance of the prophetic message contained in the book. Cf. further Comms. and Intros. in loc.

(Hos. 11:10 f., as implying the Exile, are also considered by many late vss.)

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. It is known from Assyrian inscriptions that the year in which Menahem paid tribute to Pul (Pulu) = Tiglath-pileser IV (2 Ki. 15:19; cf. vs. 29) was 738 B.C. A reasonable inference is that this date must have been soon after his accession, as according to the Biblical statement the tribute was given to secure the Assyrian support to his position as king (vs. 19). Cf. further on this point and the chronological difficulties in the closing years of the Northern Kingdom, Ap. C, p. 347. See also below, under n. b.

b. For the chronological difficulties connected with the reigns of Jotham and Menahem, and for explanation of the dating adopted above, cf. Ap. C, pp. 347 f. It may be added that the view is quite generally held that the years during which Jotham reigned as sole king were between c. 740 (or 737) and 735 (or 734) B.C. The dates assigned to the accession of Menahem vary from 748 to c. 740 B.C. There is quite general agreement that the end of his reign was c. 737 B.C., though 735 and even 732 B.C. are among the years assigned.

There is less of variation in the dating of Pekahiah's reign,

e.g. between 738 and 735 for its beginning and between 736 and 734 B.C. for its termination.

## SECTION VII, c. 735-719 (?) B.C.

### i. *Sources for the history of Judah and Israel, c. 735-719 (?) B.C.*

#### KINGDOM OF JUDAH

*Ahaz, c. 735-719 (?) B.C.*

2 Ki. 15:38b; 16:1-6. Invasion by Syria, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 28:1-4, 5\*).

2 Chr. 28:5\*-15. *Story of Oded, etc.*

2 Ki. 16:7-9 (cf. 15:29). Assyrian help secured (cf. 2 Chr. 28:16, 20-21).

2 Chr. 28:17-19. *Invasion by Edomites, etc.*

2 Ki. 16:10-20. Introduction of Assyrian worship, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 28:22-27). c. 732 B.C.

#### KINGDOM OF ISRAEL

*Pekah, c. 735-734 (733?) B.C.*

2 Ki. 15:25, 27-31. Assyrian invasion, etc.

*Hoshea, 734 (733)-725 B.C.*

2 Ki. 15:30; 17:1-6; cf. 18:9-12. Capture of Samaria, 722-21 B.C.

17:7-41. Cause of downfall of the Northern Kingdom, etc.

### ii. *Literary productions of Judah, c. 735-719 (?) B.C.*

a. *Isaiah's messages in the reign of Ahaz, especially in connection with the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, c. 735 B.C.*

Chaps. 7:1-9:7. Present and impending distress; promise of future joy, etc.

b. *Isaiah's messages during the remaining years of the reign of Ahaz, c. 735-719 (?) B.C.*

Chap. 28:1-6. Drunkards of Samaria denounced. c. 725 B.C.

23. Tyre's immediate and remote future, — destruction and restoration.<sup>1</sup>

c. *Messages of Micah during the closing years of Ahaz' reign.*

Chap. 1. Impending judgment upon Samaria and Jerusalem. Shortly before 722-21 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

d. *Other literature assigned with less certainty to this period.*

(a) According to Briggs the following 7 psalms belong to the time of the middle monarchy, viz. 3; 20-21; 27:1-6; 45 (= Jehu) 58; 61.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the view of Whitehouse that Isa. 9:7-10:4 + 5:25-30 is to be dated c. 726 B.C. His Isa. in loc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. date c. 724 B.C. (Gray, *Introd.* 218). Chap. 1 in whole or in part, together with chaps. 2-3, are assigned to c. 701 B.C. by some scholars. See *Introd.* notes, pp. 101 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal.* i. pp. lxxxix ff.

(b) According to Kirkpatrick the following psalms belong to the 8th century; 49 (possibly reigns of Uzziah and Jotham); 50 (cf. Hosea, Isaiah and Micah); 52 (?).

### iii. *Composition of the history and literary productions.*

a. 2 Ki. 15:27-31 + 16:1-20 = an epitome of history derived by the Deut. compiler from the annals of the Kingdoms. Possibly 16:10-18 may have been taken from the Temple records.  $R^D = 15:27 \text{ f.}, 31 + 16:1-4, 19 \text{ f.}$

b. (a) 2 Ki. 17:1-6, 7-28 + 18:9-12 = historical epitomes incorporated by the Deut. compiler, together with extended comment.  $R^D = 17:1 \text{ f.}, 7-23 \text{ (or largely } R^{D2})$ ; 18:12.

(b) There is general agreement that 17:29-41 is composite, to be analyzed as follows: vss. 29-34a, 41 and vss. 34b-40. Vss. 34b-40, which apparently refer to *Israelites* (= Samaritans), are assigned by some to the later Deut. compiler ( $R^{D2}$ ), by others simply to R. Vss. 29-34a, 41, which relate to *foreign colonists* alone, according to some = a part of the historical narrative (cf. vss. 24-28); by others =  $R^{D2}$ .

c. In 2 Chr. 28, in addition to the Ch. portions indicated in the outline given above, note also changes by Ch. in vss. 2 f., 16, 20 f. and 22-27 in almost every vs.

d. While the above dating for Isa. 7:1-9:7, as a whole, is the one usually given, certain portions, especially in chap. 8, and 9:2-7, have been considered by a number of scholars, in recent years, as belonging either to a later time in the prophet's career, or as later (exilic) additions to the prophecy. Cf. especially Cen. B. and Int. Crit. Comms. in loc.

e. Isa. 23:15-18, which is in prose (except vs. 16, cf. vss. 1-14 = poetic in form), and which forms an appendix to the preceding part of the chapter, is considered by many to be a later addition. Note (a) the number 70 (vs. 15) is found in late literature (Zech. 1:12; 2 Chr. 36:21, etc.), and in all these places the reference is more or less explicit to Jeremiah's prediction (Jer. 25:11 f.; cf. 29:10); and (b) the use to which the riches of Tyre are to be put (vs. 18) may be suggested by such late prophecies as Isa. 45:14; 60:1. See Comms. in loc.

### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. From Assyrian records it is known that the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser IV (2 Ki. 16:9) occupied two years, 733-732 B.C. The visit of Ahaz to Damascus (2 Ki. 16:10 ff.) undoubtedly occurred after the capture of this city in 732 B.C. This determines the date of the erection of the altar at Jerusalem (vss. 10 ff.).

For the chronological significance of the reference to So of Egypt (2 Ki. 17:4), and for the campaign of Shalmaneser V against Hoshea, see Ap. C, p. 348, n. <sup>2</sup>.

b. The capture of Samaria by the Assyrians occurred in 722-21 B.C., in the beginning of Sargon's reign, according to the records of this monarch. The siege lasted three years (2 Ki. 17:5), which places its beginning in 725 or 724 B.C.

c. The occasion of Isa. 9:1 was the capture of Galilee, etc., ("land of Zebulon and land of Naphtali," vs. 1), by Tiglath-pileser IV, 734 B.C. (2 Ki. 15:29). Vss. 2-7 may belong to a later date. Cf. above, iii. d.

d. For the chronological difficulties in the closing years of the Northern Kingdom, and the reign of Ahaz of Judah, and for the dating adopted above, cf. Ap. C, pp. 347 ff. Pekah's reign, it is generally agreed, must come within the years 736-730 B.C. The dates assigned to Hoshea's accession vary from 734 to 729 B.C., and for its close from 725 to 722 (721) B.C. For the reign of Ahaz there is a variation of from 736 to 733 B.C. for its beginning, and from 728 to 715 B.C. for its end.

#### THE SURVIVING KINGDOM OF JUDAH

#### SECTION VIII, 719 (?)—c. 690 B.C.

##### i. Sources for the history of Judah, 719 (?)—c. 690 B.C.

##### *Hezekiah*, 719 (?)—c. 690 B.C.

2 Ki. 16:20b; 18:1-8. His character and reforms, etc. (Cf. 2 Chr. 29:1-2.)

2 Chr. 29:3-31:21. *Exhortation to priesthood*, etc. (29:3 ff.); *Passover* (chap. 30); *support of the priesthood*, etc. (chap. 31).

2 Ki. 20:1-19. The king's sickness and recovery; embassy from Merodach-baladan. [Cf. Isa. 38:1-8, 21-22 + 39:1-8; 2 Chr. 32:24, (27), 31] = c. 713-711 or c. 704-702 B.C.

(Isa. 38:9-20. Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving.)

2 Chr. 32:25-29. *The king's pride and humility*.

2 Ki. 18:13-16. His submission to Sennacherib. (Cf. 2 Chr. 32:1; Isa. 36:1). 701 B.C.

2 Chr. 32:2-8. *His measures of defence*.

2 Ki. 18:17-19:37. Demand for surrender of Jerusalem refused; final repulse of Assyria. (Cf. Isa. 36:2-37:38; 2 Chr. 32:9-23.) 701 B.C.

20:20-21. The king's deeds and death. (Cf. 2 Chr. 32:30, 32 f.)

ii. *Composition of the historical sources of Hezekiah's reign.*

a. 2 Ki. 18:1-8, 13-16 = an epitome of history derived from the annals of the kingdom and amplified by the Deut. compiler, at least vss. 1-8 which = R<sup>D</sup>. Vss. 14-16, which are not found in Isa. 36, are distinguished from vs. 13 and vss. 17 ff. by a shorter form of the name of Hezekiah in the Hebrew.

b. 2 Ki. 18:17-19:37. In reference to the source of this section there is difference of opinion among scholars. (a) Driver takes it as a long Prophetic narrative relating to Judah (like the graphic accounts of affairs of the Northern Kingdom, extending at intervals from 1 Ki. 17 to 2 Ki. 14), which he thinks had its origin in the generation after Isaiah. (b) Many others, however, consider the section to be composite, viz. 18:17-19:9a, 36-37 and 19:9b-35 (cf. the fact that 19:9b-35 interrupts the connection between vs. 9a and vss. 36 f., its sequel; also that 19:10-13 is parallel to 18:28-35). A number of scholars assign 19:9b-35 to the same source as chap. 20 (see below, n. c). Whatever the sources of the section it was incorporated by the Deut. compiler. It may be added that 19:21-31 (cf. Isa. 37:22-32) was perhaps borrowed from an early collection of Isaiah's writings. Vss. 21-28, which are in poetry (the meter being that of the taunt song), are considered by Skinner, owing to the elaboration, not to have been uttered by Isaiah at the time. Others, as Cheyne, regard the whole section, vss. 21-31, to be a later addition. Cf. Skinner, Ki. in loc. EBi, ii. 2203 (Cheyne).

c. 2 Ki. 20 is also probably based on the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," incorporated by the Deut. compiler. It is the opinion, however, of some scholars that the chap. was derived from a circle of Prophetic (Isaiah) stories as were the Elijah-Elisha tales. R<sup>D</sup> = vss. 20 f. Vss. 17 f., referring to the Babylonian exile, are taken either as a gloss, or with the explanation that the word "Assyria" of the original prediction was changed by a later compiler (R<sup>D2</sup>) to "Babylon." Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

d. 2 Chr. 32:9-21 is an abridged account of 2 Ki. 18:17-19:37. 32:22-23 and vss. 32-33 (largely) = Ch.

e. Isa. 36-39, which form a section parallel to 2 Ki. 18:17-20:19, are generally believed to have been derived by the compiler of the prophecies of Isaiah from the book of Kings. For reasons, cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

f. Isa. 38:9-20 = the Psalm of Hezekiah, is regarded by many scholars as a later poem adopted as an expression of the king's feelings. Cf. (a) the liturgical use of the poem (cf. vs. 9 with headings of Pss. 3, 51, 52, etc.) indicates its use as a part of a collection in the Temple services; (b) its position in Isa. gives



evidence of insertion, cf. vss. 21 f. which are displaced from their right position after vs. 8; and (c) linguistic affinities with later literature, especially Job (vs. 10, cf. Job 38:17; vs. 12, cf. Job 4:19, 21; 6:9 and 27:8; vs. 13, cf. Job 10:16). On the other hand its authenticity is defended by Davison, Dillmann and others. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.* HDB, iv. 149 (Davison), etc.

iii. *Chronological notes in connection with the historical records of Hezekiah's reign.*

a. The chronology of Hezekiah's reign presents great difficulties. The dates given to it by different scholars vary from 728 (727) to 715 (714) B.C. for its beginning, and from 699 to 686 (685) B.C. for its close. For discussion, see Ap. C., pp. 350 f. (b).

b. Whatever reforms belong to Hezekiah's reign (2 Ki. 18:1 ff., cf. 2 Chr. 29-31) are thought by many scholars to have been enacted after the deliverance from Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (cf. below, n. d), when Isaiah's influence became dominant. Cf. *Comms. in loc.*

c. The dates for the embassy of Merodach-baladan (2 Ki. 20 and parallels), which have been considered most probable, are either (a) a few years prior to 710-709 B.C., when he was in revolt against Sargon of Assyria; or (b) in the early years of Sennacherib's reign (704-702 B.C.), when he was again in rebellion against the Assyrians. Cf. *Comms. on Ki. and Isa. in loc.*

d. The year 701 B.C. as the time of the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib (the fourth year of his reign), cf. 2 Ki. 18:13 ff. and parallels, is one of the certain dates established by the Assyrian records and chronology. Cf. *Comms. on Ki. and Isa. in loc., etc.*

e. Some scholars connect the account in 2 Ki. 18:17-19:37 (or at least 19:9b-37) with a later expedition of Sennacherib to the West, c. 691 B.C. (for which it is claimed there is sufficient evidence from Assyrian records), in which Hezekiah was probably involved. Tirhaka (2 Ki. 19:7-9), it is maintained, did not actually come to the throne of Egypt till c. 691 B.C. For discussion of this view, cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog., etc.*, 501 f. Skinner, Ki. 388, n. 1; his Isa. i. p. xix, n. 2. Paton, *Hist. Syria, etc.*, 258 ff. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 336 ff., 345 f. (= between 688-682 B.C.). Barnes, Ki. 279 f., etc.

f. The assassination of Sennacherib (2 Ki. 19:37; Isa. 37:38; 2 Chr. 32:21) occurred in 681 B.C. This date is derived from the Babylonian Chronicle. Cf. *Comms. on Ki., Isa. and Chr. in loc.*

iv. *Literary productions of Hezekiah's reign, 719 (?) ff. B.C.*

a. *Prophetic messages of Micah in the early years of the reign.*

Chaps. 2-3. Oppressive nobles denounced for their cruelty. Soon after 719 B.C.

*b. Prophetic messages of Isaiah in Hezekiah's reign, 719 and 711 B.C.*

Chap. 14: 28-32. Philistia to be destroyed, etc. 719 (?) B.C.

20. Symbolic prediction of the conquest of Egypt, etc. 711 B.C.

15-16. Moab's distress and impending downfall. c. 711 B.C.

19. Jehovah's judgment upon Egypt, etc. c. 711 B.C.

21: 11-17. Distress for Edom, Dedan and Kedar. c. 711 (?) B.C.

*c. Prophetic messages of Isaiah during the period 705-701 B.C.*

Chap. 10: 5-34. Assyria the unconscious instrument of Jehovah's judgment, etc.

11-12. Predictions of the ideal future.

14: 24-27. Prediction of the destruction of the Assyrians in Judah.

17: 12-14. Another prediction of their sudden destruction.

18. Announcement to Ethiopian ambassadors, etc. c. 702 B.C.

28. Jerusalem's condition compared with that of Samaria, etc. c. 702 B.C.

29. Humiliation and deliverance of Jerusalem, etc. c. 702 B.C.

30-31. Vanity of relying upon Egyptian help, etc. 702-701 B.C.

32. "Aristocracy of character," etc. 701 B.C.

(33. Appeal to Jehovah against Assyrian (?) oppression, etc.) 701 (?) B.C.

22: 15-25. Denunciation of Shebna, etc. Before 701 B.C.

1. "The great arraignment." c. 701 B.C.

22: 1-14. The unseemly joy of the people rebuked. c. 701 B.C.<sup>1 2</sup>

*d. Prophetic messages of Micah, c. 701 B.C.*

Chaps. 4-5. Zion's future glory and immediate distress.

*e. Other literature assigned with less certainty to Hezekiah's reign.*

(a) Pss. 46; 47(?); 48 = The glory of Zion, protected by Jehovah. c. 701 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Note also the view of some scholars that Isa. 22: 1-14 refers to conditions before the appearance of the Assyrian army = c. 704 or 703 B.C.; cf. Moore, LOT, 152; Wade, Isa. 142. For variant views classified, see LOT, 217 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the predictions of Isaiah in connection with the siege of Jerusalem, 2 Ki. 19: 20-34 (// Isa. 37: 21-35); see p. 149, ii. b.

The following additional psalms are assigned to this reign by Kirkpatrick.

72 = possibly on Hezekiah's accession.

78 = perhaps after 722 B.C.

53; 65-67; 75-76 = 701 B.C.

(b) "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" [cf. pp. 59 f. (d)] = soon after 722 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Possibly also "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" [cf. p. 60, (f)] in the main = sometime in this reign.<sup>2</sup>

(d) Possibly the later history of Samuel and Saul (designated by some scholars SS), found in the books of Sam. = 1 S. 1: 1-5a, 6-28; 2: 11-22a, 23-26; 3: 1-21a; 8; 10: 17-24; 15 (?); 17: 1-11, 12-13\*, 14a-18: 5 (see LXX vers., p. 74, n. 2); 18: 12-19, 28-30 (see LXX text, p. 74, n. 2); 19: 1, 2, 4-17; 21: 1-9; 22; 26; 2 S. 1: 6-10, 13-16. Near end of Northern Kingdom = Kautzsch, McCurdy, etc.; reign of Hezekiah = Kittel, etc.<sup>3</sup>

(e) Possibly Prov. 25-29, or the nucleus of this collection (cf. pp. 120 f. b.).

v. *Notes on the composition and chronology of the prophetic literature assigned to Hezekiah's reign.*

a. Mic. 2: 12-13, a promise of restoration, which interrupts the connection between 2: 11 and 3: 1, is regarded by practically all scholars as out of place as it stands. Some insert these verses in chap. 4 after vs. 7 or 8. By others (e.g. Cheyne) they are considered a later, post-exilic addition, parallel to sections in Deutero-Isaiah. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

Cf. also the fact that chaps. 1-3 are assigned to c. 701 B.C. by some scholars. See Introd. notes, pp. 101 f. a.

b. For variant dates for Isa. 14: 28-32, cf. Introd. notes, p. 95, 4. a.

c. Note the fact that Isa. 15: 1-16: 12 is considered by many an earlier prophecy (time of Jeroboam II) to which Isaiah added vss. 13 f. Cf. Introd. notes, pp. 95 f., 4. c.; see also p. 141, ii. a.

d. Isa. 19: 16-25 is a much disputed section. Cf. Introd. notes, pp. 96 f., 4. d.

e. Isa. 21: 11-17 is considered by Skinner and others exilic. Cf. Comms. and Intros. in loc.

f. Isa. 11: 10-16 is regarded by many scholars as a later addi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, Introd. 97 f. Kent, Hist. Biog., etc., 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bennett, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 28 f., 45, 184, 237, 239. HPM, iii. pp. 73 f. (§ 935). Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. pp. 34 f., 45, 376 f.

The outline of the late Samuel and Saul sections given above is practically that adopted by Kautzsch. For a somewhat different classification and analysis of these chaps. followed in this vol., cf. p. 53, C. ii. b. and p. 74, iii. a. b.

tion to the prophecy, especially on the grounds: (a) that the exile in Assyria, etc., is presupposed (cf. vs. 11), and (b) these exiles are described as a "remnant" (vs. 11), which implies that some had already been restored to their own land. In view of these and other facts Skinner "hesitates to assign this section to Isaiah." Both exilic and post-exilic dates have been claimed for it. Its authenticity, on the other hand, is accepted by Driver, McCurdy, Dillmann, etc. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

g. The opinion of Ewald has been slowly gaining ground among scholars, and at present is widely accepted, that Isa. 12 is a later (post-exilic) addition to Isaiah's prophecies, for the following reasons: (a) the secondary and imitative character of the poem, — its literary affinities being with Ex. 15, lyrical passages interspersed in Isa. 24–27 and late psalms; (b) with the exception of "Holy One of Israel" (vs. 6) it has none of Isaiah's distinctive phraseology; and (c) in no other place does Isaiah close an oracle with a liturgical ode like this. On the other hand, Dillmann, McCurdy, Davison, etc., take it as Isaiah's production. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

h. For Isa. 28:1–6, which dates c. 725 B.C., cf. p. 94, 3. a.

i. Isa. 29:16–24 (or 18–24) and 30:18–33 (or 18–26) are regarded by a number of scholars as post-exilic additions, especially on the ground that they are out of harmony with the leading thought of these chaps., viz. to expose the politicians and declare divine judgment upon the nation (*e.g.* 28:11; 29:13). Cf. further, *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

j. Many scholars regard Isa. 32 in whole or part as a late production. Vss. 1–8, according to Skinner, belong most naturally at the close of Isaiah's ministry, "when his mind was occupied with the hope of the ideal future." Cf. *Comms. in loc.*

k. For the possibility of Isa. 33 belonging to a later date, cf. *Introd. notes*, pp. 98 f. j. Driver and McCurdy among others accept the Isaianic authorship.

l. For the view that Isa. 1 belongs to the reign of Ahaz, cf. *Introd. notes*, p. 99, l. Some scholars regard vss. 27–31 (or 29–31) as possibly a later addition. See *Comms. etc.*

m. In reference to Mic. 4–5 two views are held. One is that these chaps. as a whole are late; *e.g.* Nowack (HDB, iii. 359), whose conclusion is that if anything is Micah's it cannot be more than 4:9 f.; 5:1, 10–14. His view is based upon: (a) the strange conjunction of Messianic hopes of 4:1 ff. with the threatenings of 3:12; (b) the presence of mutually exclusive views (cf. 4:6–8 with vss. 9 f.; 4:11–13 with 5:1; 5:2–4 with vss. 5 f., etc.); and (c) the expression of ideas which did not become current till a later time (cf. 4:11–13 with Ezek. 38, etc.; also the

conception in 4:6-8). On the other hand it is maintained that there is nothing inconsistent with authorship in the 8th cen. B.C., and much favoring it, as all, in the way of threat and promise found in these chaps., is paralleled in Hosea and Isa., except the reference to "pillars" (5:13), and this may be explained as in line with Hezekiah's reforms (2 Ki. 18:3 ff., e.g. G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, i. 367 f., 400 ff.).

The clause "and shalt come even unto Babylon" (4:10) is thought by many, who hold to Micah's authorship of the context, to be a gloss, as exile to Babylon is not in harmony with the description of victory vss. 11-13 and 5:2-6. With its omission the sense is clear and consistent. Cf. further *Intros.* and *Comms.* in loc.

### SECTION IX, c. 690-641 B.C.

#### i. *Sources for the history of Judah, c. 690-641 B.C.*

##### *Manasseh, c. 690-641 B.C.*

2 Ki. 20:21b; 21:1-18. The king's idolatry and oppressions, etc. (vss. 1-9, 18//2 Chr. 33:1-10 and vs. 20).

2 Chr. 33:11-19. *The king's captivity, repentance, etc.*

#### ii. *Literary productions of Manasseh's reign, c. 690-641 B.C.*

##### *a. Prophetic messages of Micah in this reign.*

Chaps. 6:1-7:6. A denunciation of national corruption.

(7:7-20. Promise of national restoration and forgiveness.)

##### *b. Other literary activity which may belong to this reign.*

(a) The combination of the Prophetic sources of the Hexateuch, J and E, by R<sup>JE</sup>, c. 650 B.C. See pp. 23 f.

(b) The composition of the main portion of Deuteronomy = chaps. (5-11), 12-26 + 28. Cf. pp. 127 ff.

#### iii. *Composition of the history and the literary productions.*

a. 2 Ki. 21:1-18 belongs to the Deut. compiler, R<sup>D</sup>. By a number of scholars a part is assigned to R<sup>D2</sup>, e.g. vss. 10-15 (16), especially on the ground that the Exile is presupposed. By some vss. 7-9 are also included. Cf. *Intros.* and *Comms.* in loc.

b. Mic. 7:7-20 is now by many scholars held to be a later addition to the prophecy, of exilic or post-exilic date, for the following reasons: (a) the different situation implied from the preceding sections, i.e. the nation is in captivity (cf. vss. 8 and 11); (b) the wide extent of the dispersion (vs. 12); and (c) linguistic parallels with Isa. 40 ff. (cf. 7:8b, 9b with Isa. 42:16; 62:1b; and 7:9a with 42:24 f., etc.). Driver, on the other hand, thinks

that a prophet (in Micah's day), conceiving the destruction to be impending, pictured it as if actually realized, and from that standpoint predicts the restoration. G. A. Smith concludes that the section is composed of little pieces of various dates, from before the capture of Samaria 722-21 B.C. to a time as late as after the Exile. He considers that the main portion belongs soon after 734 B.C. = the capture of Galilee by Tiglath-pileser IV. Cf. LOT, 332 ff. G. A. Smith, Bk of XII, i. pp. 372 ff.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The year of Manasseh's accession depends on the date accepted for the end of Hezekiah's reign. Cf. above, p. 150, iii. a. There is much difficulty in adjusting the number of years assigned to his reign, viz. 55 (2 Ki. 21:1), in any chronological scheme. The dates adopted by different scholars vary from 699 to 686 (685) B.C. for its beginning, and from 643 to 637 B.C. for its close. Cf. further Ap. C., p. 351.

b. No mention is found in the Assyrian records of a rebellion of Manasseh, the Biblical account of which is peculiar to the late book of Chronicles (2 C. 33:11 ff.). For its historical character and possible occasion, cf. Comms. in loc. See also McCurdy, HPM, ii. 376 ff., 386 ff. (§§ 789 ff., 801 ff.).

## SECTION X, 641-608 B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of Judah, 641-608 B.C.*

*Amon, 641-639 B.C.*

2 Ki. 21:18b, 19-26. The king's idolatry and assassination (cf. 2 Chr. 33:21-25).

*Josiah, 639-608 B.C.*

2 Ki. 21:26b; 22:1-2. Josiah's good character (cf. 2 Chr. 34:1-2).

2 Chr. 34:3-7. *His early measures of reform.*

2 Ki. 22:3-23:27. The Law Book discovered; reforms, etc. (Cf. 2 Chr. 34:8-35:19). 621 B.C.

23:28-30a. The king's death (cf. 2 Chr. 35:20-27). 608 B.C.

Cf. Jer. 22:15 f. Josiah's character.

ii. *Composition of the historical sources.*

a. 2 Ki. 21:19-26 = an historical epitome derived from the annals of the Kingdom and incorporated by the Deut. compiler. R<sup>D</sup> = vss. 19-22, 25 f.

b. 2 Ki. 22:1-23:27 as a whole, which forms a continuous

narrative, is thought by a number of scholars to have been derived probably from the Temple archives. Of this the following verses are R<sup>D</sup>; 22:1-2, 13b (?). A number of scholars assign the following verses to R<sup>D2</sup>; 22:16-20 (or 20a); 23:16-18 (or 16-20), 26-27 (possibly 24-27). Contrast the different tone of these vss. with the pre-exilic enthusiasm for Josiah's reforms as seen for example in 23:22, 25. For the possibility that some of these vss. are still later additions, and for the analysis in general, cf. *Intros.* and *Comms.* in loc.

c. 2 Ki. 23:28-30a = an historical epitome incorporated by the Deut. compiler. Cf. R<sup>D</sup> = vs. 28.

d. 2 Chr. 33:21-25 is remodeled by the Chronicler (Ch.) from the account in Kings (2 Ki. 21:19-26); cf. espec. vs. 23.

e. In 2 Chr. 34:8-33, vss. 12-14, 32-33 = espec. Ch.; cf. also in vss. 15, 18. Vss. 29-33 are abridged from 2 Ki. 23:1-14.

f. In 2 Chr. 35, vss. 1-19 are largely Ch. Vss. 20-27 are expanded by the Chronicler from 2 Ki. 23:28-30a.

### iii. *Chronological notes on the historical records of this period.*

a. According to 2 Chr. 34:3 the reforms recorded in vss. 3-7 belong in the 12th year of Josiah's reign = 628-27 B.C. It is to be noted, however, that these reforms are practically included in the reformation of 621 B.C., which is described in 2 Ki. 23:4-20.

b. The dates of the reign of Necho II of Egypt are 610 (609)-594 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 23:28 f.). 609 (608) B.C. is the date usually given for the defeat and death of Josiah at Megiddo. For reference by Herodotus to Necho's campaign in Syria; also a comparison of this with the Biblical account, etc.; cf. *Comms.* in loc.; also HDB, ii. 158b (White); iii. 504b (Crum). EBi, ii. 1246 (W. Max Müller), etc.

### iv. *Literary productions of Josiah's reign, 639-608 B.C.*

a. *Prophetic messages of Zephaniah*, c. 630-625 B.C.

Chaps. 1-2. Jehovah's day of sweeping judgment described, etc.

3. Jerusalem to be punished; promise of ideal future.

b. *Prophetic messages of Jeremiah prior to Josiah's reforms*, i.e. 626-621 B.C.

Chap. 1. The prophet's call and mission. 626 B.C.

2. Judah's gross apostasy, etc.

3:1-4:2. The sin of Judah and Israel compared, etc.

4:3-6:30. An invasion of Judah predicted and described. c. 626 B.C.

c. *The book of Deuteronomy*. — 621 B.C.

Chaps. 5-11. Hortatory introduction to the Code.

12-26 + 28. The Code proper.

d. *Prophetic messages of Jeremiah connected with the reformation*, 621 B.C.

Chap. 11: 1-8. The prophet proclaims the words of the covenant.

(17: 19-27. Exhortation to keep the Sabbath, etc.)

e. *Prophetic messages of Nahum, end of Josiah's reign*, c. 610-608 B.C.

Chap. 1. Jehovah to destroy His enemies and restore His people.

2-3. Vivid descriptions of the impending siege of Nineveh.

f. *Possibly the nucleus of Prov. 10: 1-22: 16*. 621 ff. B.C. Cf. p. 120.

v. *Notes on the composition and chronology of the prophetic and other literature assigned to Josiah's reign*, 639-608 B.C.

a. Zeph. 1 is assigned besides by some scholars to Josiah's reign after 621 B.C.; and by others to the reign of Jehoiakim, 608-597 B.C. For discussion cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

b. Zeph. 2: 8-11 is regarded by some scholars (e.g. G. A. Smith; J. M. P. Smith; Kent) as a later addition to the prophecy. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

c. Zeph. 3: 9-10 is considered by several scholars as a later addition: (a) these vss. interrupt the connection of thought; (b) the Exile is presupposed in vs. 10; and (c) the conversion of the heathen is in contrast to the thought of judgment in the previous vs. and section. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

d. Zeph. 3: 14-20 is now held by many scholars to be a later addition, towards the end of the Exile or immediately after the Return (cf. Am. 9: 8 ff.) for the following reasons: (a) the different tone in this section compared with the note of severe and almost universal judgment in the other parts of the prophecy; (b) Israel as punished and in Exile is presupposed, and the Restoration is predicted (cf. vss. 15, 18, 20); and (c) the situation is parallel to Isa. 40 ff.; cf. also the language (e.g. "sing," vs. 14, "fear not," vs. 16, cf. Isa. 42: 10; 41: 10, etc.). Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

According to J. M. P. Smith (*Int. Crit.*) in chap. 3 only vss. 1-5 (6 f.) belong to Zephaniah; all the rest of the chap. = later additions.

e. Practically all present-day scholars admit the presence, to a greater or less extent, of supplemental verses, passages and other additions in the book of Jeremiah. Those which are more commonly recognized are referred to in the notes to the following analysis of the prophecy.



f. In Jer. 1, according to Davidson, vs. 2 applies to this chap. and vs. 3, a later insertion, was probably meant to apply to the whole book. Cf HDB, ii. 572b.

g. Jer. 3: 6-18 is generally considered to be out of place in its present position: (a) it interrupts the connection between vss. 5 and 19; (b) in this section Israel and Judah are contrasted; *i.e.* Israel = the Northern Kingdom; but in 3: 1-5, 19 ff., Israel = Judah; and (c) the section, vss. 6-18, is complete in itself. According to Driver it belongs to the same time as the context but is logically misplaced.

According to a number of scholars vss. 17 f. (others = vss. 14-18, or 16-18), implying the Exile = a later insertion. Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

h. Jer. 2-6 are commonly regarded as Jeremiah's first utterances, as they were compiled in the 5th year of Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. 36: 32, cf. vs. 9), being originally delivered in Josiah's reign. McCurdy, however, thinks these chaps. are the substance of addresses delivered after the accession of Jehoiakim, 608 ff. B.C., no part of them except 3: 6-18 (cf. vs. 6) belonging to the reign of Josiah. The section 4: 5-6: 30, he holds, refers to the expected Babylonian invasion after the battle of Carchemish, c. 605 B.C. Cf. his HPM, iii. pp. 175 ff., 179 f. (§§ 1086 ff., 1091). Cf. also Peake's view that 31: 2-6, 15-22 and 13: 1-11 belong to this period of Jeremiah's career (*i.e.* prior to 621 B.C.); cf. his Jer. i. 60.

i. Deut. 14: 3-21 is closely parallel to Lev. 11: 2-23 (= possibly H). Probably both parallel sections (D and H) are based on the same older source. Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

j. It is to be noted that in Deut. 21-25 only *seven* of the laws out of *thirty-five* are paralleled in the Book of the Covenant (JE). Cf. what is said on this point, p. 129. See, *e.g.*, table, LOT, 74.

k. Deut. 27 breaks the connection between chaps. 26 and 28 and is generally considered composite in character. According to Driver it is based on a Deut. nucleus, which has been expanded by the addition of later elements and placed here in an unsuitable context by a later hand. Chap. 28, which is Deut. in style and phraseology, is considered by Driver and many others as a part of the original Code. Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.<sup>1</sup>

l. In addition to Jer. 11: 1-8 Peake assigns 11: 18-12: 6 to the time of Josiah's reforms (cf. his Jer.). McCurdy considers 11: 1-8 a reminiscence delivered in the time of Jehoiakim, which is to be joined to the remainder of the chap. (HPM, iii. pp. 160,

<sup>1</sup> Recent scholars are inclined to the view that many of the chaps. in Deut. 12-26, 28 were expanded by insertions or editorial additions, see Introsds. and Comms. and especially CHB, Hex. i. 92 ff.; ii. 267 ff.

n. 2; 187 f. = §§ 1065, 1100.) Davidson thinks these vss. very obscure (HDB, ii. 573*a*, cf. 570*b*.) Kent classifies them as a later tradition (his *Sermons*, etc., 186).

m. Jer. 17:19-27 is now assigned by many scholars to the time of Nehemiah on the following grounds: (a) the importance attached to keeping the Sabbath, cf. Neh. 13:15 ff.; 10:31; Isa. 56:2 ff.; (b) the value and emphasis placed upon sacrifice (vs. 26), which is out of harmony with Jeremiah's disparagement of such (*e.g.* 6:19 f.; 7:9 f., 21-26, etc.) and (c) the style, which is "thoroughly that of Jeremiah, may be due to intentional imitation, modelled on 22:1 ff."; (cf. too Ezek. 20:21, 24). Cf. *Introsds.* and *Comms.* in loc.

To the latter part of Josiah's reign Kent assigns Jer. 3:6-13 (14-18), and 31:2-6 (7-14), 15-30. Cf. his *Sermons*, etc., 186 ff.

n. It is the view of most recent commentators and critics that the most of Nah. 1:2-2:2 is a later (post-exilic) addition to the original prophecy. The following are the main reasons for this view: (a) the general character of the judgment, described in this section in the main, as compared with the judgment on Nineveh in particular in the rest of the prophecy; and (b) the possibility of an alphabetical arrangement of half verses originally here, which in vss. 1-9 (10) can be fairly well restored, — the second part of the poem being either worked over or displaced by 1:10 (11)-15 + 2:2. The conclusion is that it is more likely that a later editor would have prefixed this poem expressing "the general principle of God's avenging justice, of which the destruction of Nineveh was the most striking concrete illustration," than that Nahum himself should have adopted a formal acrostic. All scholars agree that the text in 1:13-2:2 is somewhat disarranged. Cf. a probable order, 1:12, 14, 2:1, 3 ff. = reference to Assyria; 1:13, 15 + 2:2 = reference to Judah. Cf. arts. "Nahum," HDB (Kennedy), EBi (Budde), *Introsds.* and *Comms.*

#### vi. *Chronological notes.*

a. The capture of No-Amon (= Thebes) of Egypt by the Assyrians referred to in Nah. 3:8 ff. occurred c. 664-662 B.C. Cf. *Comms.* in loc.

b. Nineveh was captured (cf. predictions Nah. 2-3) by the Umman-Manda (= the Medes or Scythians) with the consent at least of the Chaldeans, if not with their actual coöperation. The date of this event was c. 607 or 606 B.C. Assyria still existed as a power in 608 B.C. when Pharaoh Necho marched against it (cf. 2 Ki. 23:29). In 605 (or 604) B.C., when the battle of Carchemish was fought, Assyria had been superseded by Babylonia as the representative power of the East (cf. Jer. 46:2).

## SECTION XI, 608-597 B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of Judah, 608-597 B.C.**Jehoahaz, 608 B.C.*

- 2 Ki. 23:30b-34. His brief reign; character and captivity (cf. 2 Chr. 36:1-4).  
 Cf. Jer. 22:10-12 (Shallum); Ezek. 19:1-4. His character and fate.

*Jehoiakim, 608-597 B.C.*

- 2 Ki. 23:34a, 35-37. His appointment and character (cf. 2 Chr. 36:3-5).  
 24:1-7. Submission to Babylon and rebellion, etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 36:6-8).  
 Cf. Jer. 22:13-19. His character.

ii. *Literary productions of Jehoiakim's reign, 608-597 B.C.*a. *Prophetic messages of Jeremiah, c. 608 B.C.*

Chap. 26. Jerusalem to be destroyed; the prophet's arrest and release.

7:1-9:26 + 10:17-25. Messages of warning.

21:11-22:19. Appeal for justice, etc. Lament for the kings.

11:9-12:6. Consequences of national disloyalty; conspirators, etc.

18-20. Predictions are conditional (chap. 18); the potter's vessel (chap. 19); Jeremiah's arrest (chap. 20).

b. *Prophetic messages of Habakkuk, 604-602 B.C. (or c. 600 B.C.).*  
 Chaps. 1:1-2:4. The prophet's remonstrance and the divine answers.

2:5-20. "Tyranny is suicide."

(3. Jehovah's manifestation of Himself for judgment, etc.)

c. *Prophetic messages of Jeremiah, 604-597 B.C.*

Chap. 25. Nebuchadrezzar as Jehovah's agent for punishing Judah, etc. c. 604 B.C.

46-49. Messages relating to foreign nations. c. 604 B.C.

36:1-8. Baruch directed to write a roll of Jeremiah's prophecies. 604 B.C.

45. A message of reassurance to Baruch. 604 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

36:9-32. The reading of the roll and its destruction, etc. c. 603 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the view that Jer. 45 refers to the situation in Judea after 586 B.C. (See chaps. 40-43.) Kent, Sermons, etc., 290.

14-16. Great drought, etc. (chap. 14); the nation's fate fixed (chap. 15); Jeremiah's ascetic life (chap. 16).

17:1-18. Fixed character of Judah's sin; trust in man and God contrasted.

12:7-17. Judah laid waste by neighboring peoples, etc. c. 600 B.C.

35. Lesson from the fidelity of the Rechabites, etc. c. 600 B.C. (cf. 598 B.C. = Peake).

*d. Other literary activity which may belong to this reign.*

(a) The Deut. (R<sup>D</sup>) redaction of Judges, according to some scholars = c. 600 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (For its chronological position in this vol. see p. 193, ii. 3. c. (c).)

(b) The 1st Deut. (R<sup>D</sup>) redaction of the books of Kings, according to some scholars = c. 600 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

(For its chronological setting in this vol. see p. 166, ii. i.)

iii. *Composition of the history and literary productions of Jehoiakim's reign (608-597 B.C.), with chronological notes.*

a. 2 Ki. 23:30b-24:7 = an historical epitome incorporated from the historical annals (or written on the basis of this material) by the Deut. compiler. R<sup>D</sup> (or R<sup>D2</sup>) = 23:31 f., 36 f.; 24:2-6.<sup>3</sup>

b. In 2 Chr. 36:1-8, vss. 1-5 are abridged somewhat from 2 Ki. 23:30b-37. Vss. 7 f. are largely Ch.

c. Jer. 26 = biographical, is assigned to Baruch by many recent scholars. Cf. also chaps. 27-29, 34-45 (largely). See p. 105; see also p. 193, ii. 3. a.

d. Jer. 9:23-26 (or 23-24), which (together with 10:1-16) interrupts the connection between 9:22 and 10:17 ff., is regarded by some scholars as a later insertion; by others as probably belonging to Jeremiah but misplaced. For the later setting of 10:1-16, cf. pp. 180 f. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

e. Jer. 19:3-9 (or 5-9), 11b-13 seem based on chaps. 7:32-8:4 and 2 Ki. 21:16; 22:10-13. Jer. 20:14-18 has literary affinities with Job 3:1-10. These vss. are considered by some as later insertions. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc. Cf. also 18:21-23 as a later addition (Peake, Kent, etc.).

f. Different parts of Habak. 2 are regarded as later additions, especially vss. 12-14, on account of the parallels with other prophets; cf. Mic. 3:10; Jer. 51:58; Isa. 11:9. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gray, Introd. 59, 61, 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 73, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Scholars differ as to the place in Ki. where the first R<sup>D</sup> edition ends, whether at 2 Ki. 23:25, or 23:30 or 24:1. Cf. p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the view that 1:12-2:20 is composed of exilic and post-exilic sections; e.g. Ward, Habak. (Int. Crit.), 3 ff. See also discussion, Gray, Introd. 222 ff.

*g.* It is the opinion of many scholars that Habak. 3 belongs to a later date than the time of Habakkuk. Some of the reasons given are: (*a*) the liturgical use of the poem (cf. vss. 1, 3, 9, 13, "Selah," etc.) indicates its origin and use in the time of the second Temple, *i.e.* after 516 B.C.; (*b*) the fact that there is nothing in the poem which clearly reflects the time of the prophet; (*c*) the different style and temper of the poem from the rest of the prophecy (cf. the fact that the poet speaks in the name of the nation, vss. 14, 18 f. etc.); and (*c*) the expression "thine anointed" (vs. 13) applied to the people (cf. Pss. 28:8; 84:9; Dan. 7:27, etc.), "undoubtedly points to a post-exilic date, as before the Exile this denotes the king." On the other side, cf. McCurdy and Davison, who defend its authenticity, HPM, iii. p. 215 (§ 1136); HDB, iv. 149b. Cf. further Intros. and Comms. in loc.

*h.* Almost all scholars agree that the present text of Jer. 25 is an expansion from its original form by a later writer, who had the collected prophecies of Jeremiah before him (together with chaps. 50-51, to which vs. 13 refers). The object of the chap. was to emphasize the judgment which was to come upon Babylon. The important question is whether: (*a*) the original prophecy spoke of the close of this kingdom more clearly (= Hebr. text of chap. 25, cf. E. V.); or (*b*) less clearly (= LXX text, which omits a number of words and vss.); or (*c*) by further omission to find no reference to its downfall. The critical vss. are 11-14 and 26b, which many regard as later additions. Cf. discussion Intros. and Comms. in loc.

*i.* The authenticity of Jer. 46-49 largely or in part has been questioned by several recent scholars, partly (*a*) on the ground that Jeremiah was more concerned with the sin of Judah and its fate, and that it is not at all likely that he would have delivered such long prophecies against nations which, with the exception of Egypt, had no significance to him or his time; and partly (*b*) on the ground that several sections seem closely based on other prophecies. Davidson's conclusion is that the most that can be assumed is, that there is a nucleus of Jeremiah's utterances in these chaps., and that there is no doubt much which may belong to post-exilic times. Cf. HDB, ii. 573b, 575b (Davidson) and Intros. and Comms. in loc.

*j.* For parallelism between Jer. 49:7-22 (on Edom) and Obadiah and inferences, cf. pp. 213 ff.<sup>1</sup>

*k.* Jer. 36, 35 and 45 are among the chaps. which many recent scholars assign to Baruch. See p. 105; see also p. 193, ii. 3. *a*.

<sup>1</sup> Note also that Jer. 48, espec. vss. 5, 29-38 (see R. V. marg.), is parallel in many references and reminiscences to Isa. 15-16. Cf. on these chaps. pp. 95 f., 4. *c*.

l. The prophecies and sections of Jeremiah which made up the roll referred to in Jer. 36, according to the chronological arrangement of this volume, included chaps. 1-6; 11:1-8; (17:19-27?); 26? 7:1-9:26 + 0:17-25; 21:11-22:19; 11:9-12:6; 18-20; 25 (in its original form); 46-49 (in part?); 45. Peake following the LXX of 36:2 reading "Jerusalem" for "Israel" thinks that prophecies relating to the Northern Kingdom may not have been included in this collection. Cf. his Jer. i. 58. See also pp. 86 f. a.

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The dates of Nebuchadrezzar's reign, who is mentioned in 2 Ki. 24:1, etc., are important, as different Biblical events are synchronized with the years of his reign or dated by them, e.g. Jer. 25:1; 46:2; 2 Ki. 24:12b; 25:8, etc. The dates of his reign are known by the Canon of Ptolemy (cf. Ap. C., p. 349), and different scholars agree quite closely on the years assigned to it, e.g. 605(604)-562(561) B.C. Cf. also n. e below.

b. There is some uncertainty as to the exact dates of Jehoiakim's submission to the Chaldeans and subsequent rebellion (2 Ki. 24:1). Western Asia fell into the hands of the Chaldeans when Nebuchadrezzar their crown prince defeated Pharaoh Necho of Egypt at Carchemish. According to Jer. 46:2 this was in the 4th year of Jehoiakim's reign. Authorities vary between 605 and 604 B.C. for the date of this battle. Jehoiakim most probably submitted to Nebuchadrezzar soon after this event. In support of this view it is held that the fast referred to in Jer. 36:9, 29, in the 5th year of Jehoiakim's reign, i.e. c. 603 B.C., may have been appointed on account of the approach of the Chaldeans. According to this reckoning his rebellion after 3 years of submission = 601 or 600 B.C. Many scholars think that for a number of years Judah was ravaged by Syrians, etc. (2 Ki. 24:2), incited by the Chaldeans, before the latter brought their main force and captured Jerusalem (vss. 10 ff.). Cf. Comms. in loc., etc.

c. In 2 Chr. 36:6 f. the Chronicler seems to have confused Jehoiakim with his successor Jehoiachin (cf. 2 Ki. 24:15, 13).

d. Davidson places Jer. 7 before 26. The latter he considers the historical comment on the former, and dates it immediately after Josiah's death. Cf. for reasons HDB, ii. 572b. Cf. also Peake, Kent, etc.

e. The battle of Carchemish referred to in Jer. 46:2 as occurring in the 4th year of Jehoiakim's reign, according to Berossus (as cited by Josephus c. Ap. i. 19; Jew. Ant. x. 11) fell on the last year of Nabopolassar's reign. The dates assigned to the battle vary between 605 and 604 B.C. Cf. above, n. b.

f. The occasion mentioned, Jer. 47 : 1, is obscure, but it is thought by some to refer to a capture of Gaza by the Egyptians (the record of which is unknown), either on their retreat from Carchemish, c. 604 B.C., or possibly later, c. 588 B.C., in connection with the movements mentioned in 37 : 5. Vs. 1, it may be added, is omitted in the LXX. Cf. Comms. and Intros. in loc.

## SECTION XII, 597-586 B.C.

### i. *Sources for the history of Judah, 597-586 B.C.*

#### *Jehoiachin, 597 B.C.*

- 2 Ki. 24 : 6b, 8-16. Capture of Jerusalem and deportation of leading citizens, etc. (Cf. 2 Chr. 36 : 9-10a).  
Cf. Ezek. 19 : 5-9. Jehoiachin's fate.

#### *Zedekiah, 597-586 B.C.*

- 2 Ki. 24 : 17-20a. His appointment and character (cf. 2 Chr. 36 : 10b-12; Jer. 52 : 1-3a).  
24 : 20b-25 : 7. Siege and capture of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Chr. 36 : 13-16 + Jer. 52 : 3b-11; cf. 38 : 28b-39 : 7). 589-586 B.C.  
25 : 8-21. Burning of the city and Temple; deportation of citizens to Babylon [cf. 2 Chr. 36 : 17-21; Jer. 52 : 12-27 (28-29); cf. 39 : 8-9]. 586 B.C.

### ii. *Literary productions of the reigns of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, 597-586 B.C.*

#### a. *Prophetic messages of Jeremiah in Jehoiachin's reign, 597 B.C.*

- Chap. 13. Symbol of the linen girdle and its application, etc.  
22 : 20-30. Lament over the nation; judgment upon Jehoiachin.

#### b. "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," c. 597 B.C. Cf. p. 60 (f).

#### c. *Prophetic messages and experiences of Jeremiah in Zedekiah's reign to the king's rebellion against the Chaldeans (2 Ki. 24 : 17 ff.), 597-588 (587) B.C.*

- Chap. 24. Symbolical vision of the two baskets of figs. c. 597 B.C.

#### 23. Judah's unworthy civic leaders, prophets and priests, etc. 597-593 B.C.

#### 27-29. Babylonian dominion to remain over Judah and surrounding countries. 593 B.C.

#### 51 : 59-64. Message sent to Babylon that it will perish. 593 B.C.

#### d. *Prophetic messages of Ezekiel in the fifth year of Zedekiah's reign, June-July, 592 B.C.*

Chaps. 1:1-2:7. Vision of the Cherubim and the wheels; the prophet's call, etc.

2:8-3:21. Symbolical eating of the roll of a book, etc.

3:22-7:27. Symbolical messages predicting the overthrow of Jerusalem.

*e. Prophetic messages of Ezekiel in the sixth year of Zedekiah's reign, 591 B.C.*

Chaps. 8-11. Further symbolic representations of Jerusalem's impending destruction. Aug.-Sept. 591 B.C.

12-19. The moral necessity of the city's destruction. 591 B.C.

*f. Prophetic messages of Ezekiel in the seventh year of Zedekiah's reign, 590 B.C.*

Chaps. 20-23. Further predictions of the fall of Jerusalem, July-Aug. 590 B.C.

*g. Prophetic messages and experiences of Jeremiah connected with the revolt, siege and capture of Jerusalem, 588-586 B.C. (2 Ki. 25:1 ff.).*

Chap. 21:1-10. The prophet's reply to Zedekiah's appeal, etc. c. 587 B.C.

34. Prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem; treatment of Hebrew slaves, etc. c. 587 B.C.

37. Jeremiah requested to pray for the city; his arrest, etc.

38:1-28a. Jeremiah cast into a dungeon; his rescue, etc.

39:15-18. Message of promise to the Ethiopian slave, his rescuer.

32. Jeremiah purchases an inheritance; its prophetic significance. c. 587 B.C.

33. The doom of the nation and its final restoration, etc. c. 587 B.C.

30-31. Messages relating to restoration from Exile. c. 586 B.C.

*h. Prophetic messages of Ezekiel in Babylonia during the revolt, siege and capture of Jerusalem, 588-586 B.C. (2 Ki. 25:1 ff.).*

Chap. 24. The parable of the rusted caldron, etc. Dec.-Jan. 588-587 B.C.

29:1-16. Prediction of the destruction of Egypt, etc. Dec.-Jan. 587-586 B.C.

30:1-19. Egypt to be laid waste by invasion, etc. c. 586(?) B.C.

30:20-26. Egypt to be totally destroyed. Mch.-Apr. 586 B.C.

31. Pharaoh, the sheltering cedar tree, to be destroyed, etc. May-June, 586 B.C.



i. *First Deuteronomic (R<sup>D</sup>) edition of the Books of Kings (extending as far as 2 Ki. 23:30), 597–586 B.C.* See pp. 60 f.

j. *The Law of Holiness (Lev. 17–26).* This Code doubtless represents much legislation of pre-exilic times, and according to a number of scholars it was probably codified shortly before the Exile; e.g. Driver, Moore, Kennedy, etc.<sup>1</sup> For its chronological setting in this vol. cf. pp. 184 ff., 193, ii. 1.

k. *Psalms assigned to the pre-exilic period, especially the time of the late monarchy, with different degrees of probability.*

(a) The different psalms in which reference is made to the kings are assigned by many scholars to the pre-exilic period: Pss. 2; 20; 21; 28; 45; 61; 63; 72 = those usually included.<sup>2</sup>

(b) The following psalms according to Briggs belong to the period of the late monarchy = 2; 19:1–6; 28; 36:1–4; 46; 52; 54; 55:1–8; 60:1–5, 10b–12; 62; 72; and 87.<sup>3</sup>

(c) The following are those assigned to this period by Kirkpatrick = 42–44; 58; 73 (?); 84; 31 (possibly by Jeremiah); 81 (possibly Josiah's reign, 639 ff. B.C.); 69 (597–586 B.C., or exilic).<sup>4</sup>

(d) A number of psalms have been attributed to Jeremiah. Such conclusions can hardly be more than conjectural. The following are those more commonly assigned to him = 22; 31; 35; 38; 40; 55; 69; 71; 78–79, etc.<sup>5</sup>

l. *Possibly the original book of Job.* Among those holding that the present book of Job is based on an earlier production (of which all that is preserved is found in Job, chaps. 1–2; 42:7–17), some date it from the closing years of the monarchy, e.g. 600–586 B.C. Cf. p. 271, iii. f.

m. *The Last Words of David, 2 Sam. 23:1–7, according to Kent = "close to the Babylonian exile" or even later.*<sup>6</sup>

iii. *Composition of the history and literary productions, 597–586 B.C.*

a. 2 Ki. 24:8–25:21 was incorporated from the historical annals (or written on the basis of this material) by the Deut. compiler, probably R<sup>D2</sup>. Note espec. the marks of this editor in 24:8 f., 18–20; 25:16 f. (or = R<sup>F</sup>). According to some scholars 24:13 f. = a later parallel to vss. 15 f.

<sup>1</sup> LOT, 145 f., 149 ff.; Driver, etc., Lev. (SBOT), 101. EBi, iii. 2787, 2791 (Moore). Moore, LOT, 54. Kennedy, Lev. 28, 119, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LOT, 385. Bennett, Introd. 144. McFadyen, Introd. 249, etc. Cf. contra, Gray, Introd. 136 f.

<sup>3</sup> Briggs, Psal. i. pp. lxxxix ff.

<sup>4</sup> Kirkpatrick, Psal. in loc.

<sup>5</sup> LOT, 382 f. McFadyen, Introd. 250. EBi, iii. 3961, n. 3, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Kent, Sermons, etc., 67. Cf. Cheyne's view, p. 197, ii. 5. e.

b. In 2 Chr. 36:9-21, vss. 12*b*, 13*b*-16 (largely), 20*b*-21 = Ch. Vss. 9 f. = a mere summary of 2 Ki. 24:8-16; and vss. 17-21 are abridged from 2 Ki. 25:8-21.

c. Jer. 52 forms an historical appendix to the collection of Jeremiah's prophecies. It is a matter of common agreement among scholars that it was excerpted from the book of Kings (= 2 Ki. 24:18-25:30, except 25:22-26). Vss. 28-30 (not in LXX) are additional.

d. Jer. 39 is also based on Kings. Vss. 4-13 of this chap. are wanting in the LXX, and some (*e.g.* Driver) doubt if they formed a part of the original chapter. So vss. 1 f. may be an interpolation. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

e. Jer. 13:26 f. is not considered by some scholars a worthy conclusion to this chap. (vs. 26 is a prosaic repetition of vs. 22*b*; and vs. 27 is a short summary of some of Jeremiah's harsher accusations). McCurdy thinks it better to regard these vss. as an addition by a later writer ignorant of elegiac measure. Cf. HPM, iii. p. 223, n. 1 (§ 1143) and Intros. and Comms. in loc.

It is to be noted that a number of scholars limit the vss. in chap. 13 which belong to Jehoiachin's reign to 18 f., the remainder of the chap. being assigned earlier to the reigns of Josiah and Jehoiakim. Cf. Peake in loc.; Kent, Sermons, etc., 229. LOT, 256.

f. Jer. 27-29 + 51:59-64 are among the chaps. which recent scholars assign to Baruch. They are largely biographical. Cf. p. 105; see also p. 193, ii. 3. *a*.

g. The LXX text of Jer. 27-29 is considerably shorter than the Hebr. (= E. V.), and some scholars regard it as preferable. Note especially that in chap. 29, vss. 16-20 (parallel largely to 24:8-10), which break the connection between vss. 15 and 21, are wanting in the LXX. For comparison and discussion of the two texts. cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.; also W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 104 ff.

h. Jer. 34, 37, 38; 39:15-18 are among the chaps. of Jer. (= biographical) whose authorship has been assigned to Baruch by recent scholars. Cf. p. 105; see also p. 193, ii. 3. *a*.

i. It is thought by many scholars that at least an exilic or post-exilic coloring has been given to Jer. 30-33 by editorial additions. Opinions, however, differ as to what extent this was carried. Davidson thinks these chaps. once formed a separate collection (cf. 30:2), and that the subject was one which invited expansion, though much in chap. 31 is original. Usually Jeremiah uses the term "Israel" and "Ephraim" (twice "house of Jacob," 2:4; 5:20); it is only in these chaps. that the simple name "Jacob" occurs (*e.g.* 30:7, 10, etc.). Much besides reflects the ideas and

language of Isa. 40 ff. The sections especially questioned are: 33:1-16, 17-26 (vss. 14-26 are wanting in the LXX); 30:10 f.; 31:35-37. Cf. further HDB, ii. 573*b* (Davidson); also Intros. and Comms. in loc.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The siege of Jerusalem extended from the 9th year of Zedekiah's reign, the 10th mo., to the 11th year of his reign, the 4th mo. (2 Ki. 25:1 ff., 8). Probably the Babylonian method of beginning the year in the spring (March-April), which was adopted by the Jews in exilic and post-exilic times is here employed. The length of the siege was thus about a year and a half, i.e. Dec.-Jan., 588-587 to June-July, 586 B.C. Note the burning of the city and Temple in the 5th mo. = July-Aug. 586 B.C. (vs. 8).

b. In Jer. 52:28 there is reference to captives being carried away in the 7th year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign, c. 598 or 597 B.C. This date, however, is supposed by a number of scholars since Ewald's time to have originally read the 17th year of his reign, i.e. c. 588 B.C. Hence in the outline (p. 164) Jer. 52:28 f. is placed in connection with the final siege of the city. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

c. While Jer. 27-29 as a whole belongs to the 4th year of Zedekiah's reign, some portions according to their headings date earlier (e.g. the beginning of his reign, cf. 27:1, 3, 12, 20). Scholars differ as to this point, however. Some think the beginning of the reign may be applied to the 4th year (cf. 28:1). According to some scholars chap. 29 is prior to chaps. 27-28, i.e. 596-595 B.C. (Peake; cf. Kent). Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

d. The date of Jer. 51:59-64 is found in vs. 59. Some scholars, however, place this section with 50:1-51:58 (pp. 179 f. c.). Others, as Driver, McCurdy, Cornill, Peake, etc., accept the Biblical chronology here. Many also hold that these vss. are a still later addition. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

e. The date given above for Ezek. 12-19 is that of Davidson, who thinks these chaps. were probably composed a little later than the preceding section but in the same year. Cf. his Ezek. p. xi.

f. As Ezek. 17 assumes the disloyalty of Judah, which led Nebuchadrezzar to send an army thither, c. 588-587 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 25:1 ff.), Davidson assigns this chap. a year or two before that time = c. 590 B.C. Cf. his Ezek. in loc. Gray, Introd. 201. Kent = 588 B.C. (Sermons, etc., 262).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gray's view that Ezekiel wrote his prophecy as a whole after 572 B.C. (cf. 40:1) or 570 B.C. (cf. 29:17), on the basis of records preserved by him "of his teaching at specific times in his career." This,

*g.* It is the opinion of several scholars that the prediction against Ammon (Ezek. 21 : 28-32) is a later passage than the rest of the chap., and is placed here and not among the prophecies relating to foreign nations (chaps. 25 ff.) because of the previous reference in this chap. to Ammon (cf. vs. 20). Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

*h.* While Jer. 34 is assigned above to a date soon after 21 : 1-10 (note the fact that Lachish and Azelah are not yet taken, vs. 7), some prefer to place it in the second part of the siege (*i.e.* after the return of the Chaldeans to invest Jerusalem from their temporary withdrawal to meet the Egyptian forces (cf. 34 : 21 f.; 37 : 5, 11). Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

*i.* Jer. 30-31 may with probability be placed after chaps. 32-33 as they relate to the Restoration. Cf. the order above, p. 165, ii. *g.*

*j.* The date of Ezek. 24 = the day in which Jerusalem was invested by the Chaldeans (cf. vs. 1 with 2 Ki. 25 : 1). The date of 29 : 1-16 = 6 or 7 mos. before the capture of Jerusalem (cf. vs. 1 with 2 Ki. 25 : 3 ff.). The date of Ezek. 30 : 20 ff. = 3 mos. before Jerusalem was captured (cf. vs. 20 with 2 Ki. 25 : 3 ff.). The date of Ezek. 31 = 5 weeks before its capture (cf. vs. 1 with 2 Ki. 25 : 3 ff.).

according to Gray, accounts for the allusion in 17 : 15 ff. to an event after 591 B.C., the date assigned to chaps. 12-19. See his Introd. 201. Note that Kent assigns chap. 12 and other sections to 588 B.C. See his Sermons, etc., 254 ff.

## VIII. A. THE PERIOD OF THE EXILE. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

The history and literature relating to the period of the Exile are found in brief historical and biographical sections in Kings and Jeremiah; Cf. Jer. 43:8-13 and 44:1-30 = prophecy; Ezekiel 25-48 in large part; Isaiah 40-55; Isaiah 21:1-10; 13:1-14:23; Jeremiah 50:1-51:58; 10:1-16; Leviticus 17-26; Lamentations; different psalms and poems. All these literary productions had their origin in this period.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

The direct historical information for this period is scanty. What Biblical history there is relates almost entirely to the years immediately following the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. The historical background for the period has to be derived from outside sources. The knowledge of the condition of the Exiles during those years, so far as it can be ascertained, is obtained indirectly from the Biblical literature.

A. 2 *Kings* 25:22-30. Of this section vss. 22-26 seem clearly a much shortened account of events described in Jer. 40:7-43:6, and were evidently derived by the exilic editor (*R<sup>D</sup>*<sup>2</sup>) of the books of Kings from this source. The remaining verses, 27-30, may contain facts personally known to this editor.

B. Jer. 39:10-14; 40:1-43:7; 52:28-34.

a. Jer. 39:10-14. Of this section, cf. vs. 10 with 2 Ki. 25:12.

Cf. the fact previously noted (p. 167, iii. d.) that Jer. 39:4-13 is wanting in the LXX. According to some scholars, vss. 11-14 and 40:1-6 = a Midrash.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other literary productions (including *R<sup>D</sup>* redactions of earlier historical writings), cf. pp. 193 f., ii. 3; pp. 196 f., ii. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 328. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 286 f. For definition of "Midrash," cf. p. 66.

b. Chaps. 40:1-43:7 are clearly based upon first-hand sources, *i.e.* records by Jeremiah or more likely by Baruch. The events described belong to the years immediately following the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (cf. 40:1, 7; 41:1).

c. Chap. 52:28-34. Of these verses, 31-34 are parallel to 2 Ki. 25:27-30, and were probably derived from the book of Kings by the compiler of Jeremiah. The source of the remaining verses, 28-30, is unknown. These three verses are wanting in the LXX.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. PROPHETICAL WRITINGS

A. *Jeremiah* 43:8-13 and 44:1-30. These prophetic messages belong between 586 and c. 581(?) B.C., being connected with the historical section, chaps. 40:1-43:7. Cf. above 1. B. b.

B. *Portions of Ezekiel*. The following sections and chapters belong after the capture of Jerusalem 586 B.C.

The year from which these prophecies are dated, as in the previous part of the prophecy (cf. pp. 114 f.), is 597 B.C., when the first body of captives was taken into Exile. The months indicated below are based on the assumption that the Babylonian year, which began in March-April, was adopted by the prophet in his reckoning. For the Babylonian months cf. p. 205.

a. Chaps. 25-28. These prophecies against different foreign nations, predicting that a like fate to that of Jerusalem is to befall them, belong immediately after 586 B.C. The destruction of Jerusalem is assumed in these chapters (cf. 25:3, 8, 12, 15; 26:1 f.).<sup>2</sup>

b. Chap. 32. Feb.-March (?) 585 (or 584) B.C. (cf. vss. 1 and 17).<sup>3</sup>

c. Chaps. 33-39. Only one date is given in this section,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in addition to the references to authorities on Jeremiah given, p. 111, n.<sup>1</sup>, espec. on the above sections, LOT, 271; Bennett, *Introd.* 206 f. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 44 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 81 f., 85. HDB, ii. 573b (Davidson). EBi, ii. 2378 f., 2386 (Schmidt). McFadyen, *Introd.* 151 f., 156. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 328 ff. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 182 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 298, n. 1. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the date in 26:1, see p. 192, iv. d.

<sup>3</sup> On the dates in 32:1, 17, cf. further p. 192, iv. e.

viz. Dec.-Jan. 585-584 B.C. (33:21). As this refers to the first word of the destruction of Jerusalem reaching the Exiles, many scholars think that it is a year too late, and that the correct date is Dec.-Jan. 586-585 B.C., i.e. about six months after the downfall of the city (cf. 2 Ki. 25:2 f.). It is not certain that this year applies to all parts of this section, though it is evident that the whole falls in the period after 586 B.C. (e.g. chaps. 34; 37; 36:16 ff.; 35). The time beginning immediately after 586 B.C. and extending possibly over a decade may be taken as the historical setting of these chapters.

It may be added that the Syriac and some Hebrew MSS. read the 11th year instead of the 12th in 33:21. The numbers 11 and 12 are easily confused in the Hebrew.

"The dates throughout the book are little more than rubrics of a very general kind, under which, in default of more precise details, a number of discourses, extending over considerable periods have been grouped," according to Davidson.<sup>1</sup> He takes the date in 33:21 to indicate the time generally to which the whole seven chapters belong.

d. Chaps. 40-48 belong to March-April, 572 B.C. (cf. 40:1).

e. Chap. 29:17-21. March-April, 570 B.C. (cf. vs. 17).<sup>2</sup>

*C. Deutero-Isaiah = Isaiah, chaps. 40-55.* It is now a matter of common agreement among scholars that Isaiah 40-66 form a group of anonymous prophetic messages, attached to the collected prophecies of Isaiah; and that of this section it seems reasonable to assign chapters 40-55 to the closing years of the Exile. The grounds of this view may be briefly summarized as follows.

*First*, the historical presuppositions of these chapters. They are entirely different from those of the certain prophecies of Isaiah. (a) Babylon and not Assyria is the dominant power (cf. 43:14; 48:14, 20; chap. 47), and the Jews are suffering in Exile from its oppression (cf. 42:22, 25; 43:28, R. V. marg.; 47:6; 52:5, etc.). (b) Jerusalem has been destroyed and Palestine lies waste (cf. 44:26b, 28b; 49:8, 19, etc.); (c) but while Babylon still stands Cyrus the Persian has begun his conquering career (cf.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Davidson, Ezek. 238.

<sup>2</sup> For list of authorities on Ezekiel, cf. p. 116 n.<sup>1</sup>.

41:2-4), who is Jehovah's appointed servant, and whose mission is to overthrow Babylon and restore the Jews to their own land (41:25; 44:28; 45:1-6, 13; 46:11); and (d) the period of punishment in Exile is nearing its end, — the day of deliverance is at hand (cf. 40:2; 48:20; 49:14 ff.; 51:17, etc.). This historical background is that of the years 549-538 B.C.

Cyrus began his conquering career c. 550 B.C. In 539 (or 538) B.C. Babylon fell before his power, and in the following year probably, being granted permission, a body of Jewish exiles returned home (cf. Ezra 1). Some would limit the background of the prophecy between c. 546 or 545 B.C. (when Cyrus captured Sardis) and 539-538 B.C.

From the analogy of prophecy the historical setting of this section of Isaiah is one of the strongest arguments for assigning it to the close of the Exile. If Isaiah 40-55 had formed in the Canon a collection by itself as an anonymous production (as it really is, for there is no hint in the chapters who the writer is, — certainly no claim that Isaiah is the author), it is not probable that there would have been any question as to assigning it to this date, since a prophet's message is primarily to his own times. The conditions and circumstances of a prophet's own age are always reflected in his messages; and the promises for the future and predictions of judgment always rest on the historic basis of the period to which he belongs, having a practical bearing on present needs. In this important particular the evidence is all in favor of the end of the Exile as the date of these chaps. in Isaiah.

"There is a curious fact in connection with the book of Isaiah which may not be without significance. The present order of the three great prophets was not the order in which the scribes originally placed them. The oldest order was — Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. This may suggest that the scribes were conscious that elements were contained in the Book of Isaiah of a later date than the prophet Ezekiel."<sup>1</sup>

In reply to those who support the Isaianic authorship of this section on the ground that the prophet projected himself into the period of the Exile, and thus described future events as already realized, it is maintained that in all such cases in prophetic utterances the transferences are but temporary, the prophet plainly indicating in the context his own age (e.g. Isa. 5:13-15; 23:1, 14).

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, Isa. (TB), xxiii. LOT, pp. i. f. (= Talmud order of proph. books). EBi, i. 650 (Budde). Ryle, Canon, etc., 237 ff., 293, etc.



If Isa. 40 ff. is a production of Isaiah, there is no other O. Test. parallel, in which a prophet ignores his own age and transports himself wholly into a distant future and gathers around him "all the elements of a definite and complex historical situation and forecasts from it a future still more distant." While both Jeremiah and Ezekiel (cf. Jer. 30-33; Ezek. 16-17) predict the Exile, which is to be followed by restoration, both regard it as still future. In Isa. 40 ff., on the other hand, *the Exile is not predicted but described as an event realized. It is the release and restoration which are predicted* [cf. references above under (c)]. It is thus seen that the element of prediction is not eliminated by assigning an exilic date to Isa. 40 ff.; for it contains as clear a case of prediction as is found in Isaiah's utterances in reference to the defeat of Sennacherib (cf. Isa. 29:7 f.; 30:27 ff.; 31:4 f.; 14:24-27, etc.).

*Secondly:* the evidence from the historical background for the late, exilic date is strengthened by a study of the phraseology, style and religious conceptions of this section, which indicate difference of authorship from that of Isaiah.

That each Biblical writer has his own distinctive style, choice of words and conceptions, the same as characterize writers of other literature, is a fact that can easily be verified by comparing the different books. This holds true in the New Test. as well as the Old; e.g. Mark's use of "straightway" (R. V. = "immediately" A. V.) almost 40 times; in Luke only 7 and in John 4 times.

(a) In the prophecies of Isaiah, which are commonly accepted as his, there are certain words and expressions used which are not found in Isaiah 40 ff. The phrase "in that day" used by Isaiah more than thirty times, especially in introducing scenes or traits in descriptions of the future (e.g. 3:18; 4:1 f.; 7:18, 20, etc.), occurs in Isaiah 40 ff. only once (52:6). So the introductory formula frequently used, "and it shall come to pass" (e.g. 4:3; 7:18, 21, 23; 8:21, etc.) is not met with at all in Isa. 40-55. (It is found in Isa. 65:24 and 66:23.) On the other hand there are phrases and words in Isaiah 40 ff., which do not appear in the undisputed sections of Isaiah 1-39, or, if in that part of the prophecy, occurring but rarely. This distinction of words and phraseology between the two sections can hardly be "accidental." It can most naturally be accounted for by difference of authors.

Some of the other words and expressions characteristic of Isaiah are "glory" (of a nation) especially in figures denoting its disappearance or decay (*e.g.* 5:13, R. V. marg.; 10:16, 18, etc.); the figure of Jehovah's hand stretched out against a nation or part of the earth (*e.g.* 5:25; 9:12, 17, 21, etc.); "the Lord, Jehovah of hosts" (1:24; 3:1; 10:16, 33, etc.); "idols" (a special word, 'elîlm = "not-gods," *e.g.* 2:8, 18, 20; 10:11; 19:1, 3, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

Some of the words and expressions characteristic of Isaiah 40-55 are as follows: "I am Jehovah and there is none else" (45:5 f., 18, 21 f.); "I am the first and I am the last" (44:6; 48:12); "I am thy God," "thy Saviour," etc. (41:10, 13; 43:3; 48:17b); "I am He," *i.e.* the same (41:4b; 43:10b, 13; 46:4, etc.). Also "all flesh" (40:5 f.; 49:26, etc.); "as nothing" in a comparison (40:17; 41:11 f.); "My chosen" (also "to choose" = Jehovah's choice of Israel, 41:8 f.; 43:10, 20; 45:4); "isles" or "coasts" (used in Isa. 40 ff. to denote distant parts of the earth, 40:15; 41:1, 5, etc.); "holy city" (48:2; 52:1; found elsewhere only in Neh. 11:1, 18; Dan. 9:24).<sup>2</sup>

(b) In reference to style, it is to be observed that Isaiah's prophecies are characterized by force, terseness and compactness. Isaiah 40 ff., on the other hand, is much more profuse and flowing, with a tendency to amplify and repeat. The rhetoric of Isa. 40 ff. is warm and impassioned with frequent lyrical outbursts (*e.g.* 42:10 f.; 44:23; 45:8; 49:13). Persuasion rather than force (the latter being one of the characteristics of Isaiah) is the predominant feature of the language and thought of 40 ff. While grandeur is a characteristic of the imagination of Isaiah's messages, pathos is that which marks Isaiah 40 ff.<sup>3</sup>

Two special characteristics of the style of Isa. 40 ff. may be further noticed, *viz.* (a) the repetition of the initial word of a sentence or some other word of emphasis (*cf.* 40:1; 43:11, 25; 48:11, 15, etc.); and (b) "the habit of attaching a series of descriptive participial (or relative) clauses to the name of God, or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for full lists Skinner, Isa. ii. pp. xlix ff. Driver, Isa. Life and Times, 193 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further the lists in LOT, 238 ff. Driver, Isa., etc., 197 f. Skinner, Isa. ii. pp. xlviii ff. G. A. Smith, Isa. ii. pp. 15 f. Cheyne, *Introd.* Isa. 247 ff. (= full list of words and phrases). Wade, Isa. xlviii f.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is based closely upon LOT, 240 f. Cf. also the excellent characterization of the style of Isa. 40 ff. in McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 419 ff. (§§ 1405 ff.).

Israel, or Cyrus" (cf. 40:22 f., 28 f.; 41:8 f., 17; 42:5; and especially 44:24-28). Compare in addition (c) the frequent examples of personification. Thus the prophetic custom of describing the city or nation as a maiden (*e.g.* Am. 5:2), especially when desirous of representing it as controlled by some deep emotion, is adopted in Isa. 40 ff. but with striking "independence and originality." Zion is depicted as a bride, mother and widow, *i.e.* "under just those relations of life in which the deepest feelings of humanity come into play." These personifications are continued sometimes through a long series of verses [*e.g.* 47:1-15 (Babylon); 49:18(or 14)-23; 51:17-23, etc.].

(c) The argument is further strengthened by differences of religious conceptions, which are characteristic of the two sections, such as the character of Jehovah; the doctrine of the remnant; Israel's relation to Jehovah; the Messianic figure; and Jehovah's purpose in the world through His people.<sup>1</sup>

Jehovah's universal character is specially emphasized in Isa. 40 ff.; *i.e.* His infinitude, His incomparable nature, etc. (cf. 40:12 ff., 18 ff.; 42:5 ff.; 44:6 ff., etc.). These conceptions though implicitly contained in Isaiah's prophecies are not so explicitly set forth. In Isa. 40 ff. they are "made the subject of reflection and argument."

In Isaiah's prophetic messages the doctrine of the "remnant" is one of the most characteristic and prominent ideas (*e.g.* 6:13; 10:19 ff., etc.). In Isa. 40 ff. it occupies a subordinate place, occurring but rarely (cf. 46:3), and it is not usually expressed in Isaiah's phraseology.

Israel's relation to Jehovah, its choice of Him, its destiny, etc., are described differently from the way they are in Isaiah. Cf. the figure of the "Servant" (*e.g.* 41:8 ff.; 42:19 ff., etc.).

In Isaiah's teaching the Messianic leader is pictured in terms of a king. This is his typical representation (cf. 9:6 f.; 11:1 ff., etc.). In Isa. 40 ff. this figure is not found, but in its place is that of the "Servant" (cf. preceding paragraph), which is based upon the conception of a *prophet* not a king. This argument from what Davidson terms the "Christology," to his mind "furnishes the strongest argument against its authorship by Isaiah."<sup>2</sup>

There is a more comprehensive development of the subject of Jehovah's purpose to the world through Israel than in Isaiah;

<sup>1</sup> "The author of these chapters (*i.e.* 40 ff.) has not inappropriately been called the theologian among the prophets." Moore, LOT, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Davidson, O. T. Prophe. 267.

especially in connection with the prophetic mission of Israel (cf. 42:1b, 4, 6; 49:6b, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

Such are the main lines of evidence which point to difference of authorship, and which have led to almost unanimous agreement among scholars in assigning to the closing years of the Exile (c. 540 B.C.) at least chaps. 40-55 of Isaiah.

For different views of the origin of the Servant passages, viz. 42:1-4 (5-9); 49:1-6 (7-13); 50:4-9 (10 f.); 52:13-53:12, see pp. 198 f., iii. k.

Some recent scholars (e.g. H. P. Smith, Kent) regard Isa. 40-66 as all written by the same prophet, and date it sometime in the 70 years following the building of the Temple, 516-515 B.C. On this theory of dating, the references to Cyrus (44:28; 45:1) are scribal interpolations. (Cf. espec. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 27 ff., 336 ff.)

Cf. contra, Batten, *Ezra*, etc., 35 f.<sup>2</sup>

*D. Brief (anonymous) Prophetic Messages*, incorporated in other prophecies, 555-538 B.C. = reign of Nabonidus (the last Babylonian king), which terminated with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, 539 or 538 B.C.

*a. Isaiah 21:1-10.* This prophetic vision of the siege of Babylon by the Persians and Medes (cf. vs. 1) reflects the same historical background as Isaiah 40-55. Inasmuch

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the differences in religious conceptions, LOT, 242 f. Driver, *Isa. Life and Times*, 206 f. Skinner, *Isa. ii.* pp. xlii ff.; cf. xxii ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Isaiah 40-55, LOT, 230 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 185 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 57 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 96 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 129 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 284 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 184 ff. Moore, LOT, 156 ff. HDB, ii. 493 ff. (G. A. Smith); iv. 112b (Davidson); extra vol. 705b f. (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2191 f., 2203 ff. (Cheyne); 2252 (Guthe); iii. 3890 f. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Isa.* 40 ff., espec. West. C. (Wade); *Expos. B.*, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B.*, vol. 2 (Skinner); *Cen. B.*, vol. 2 (Whitehouse); *SBOT* (Cheyne), espec. 130 ff. TB. (Davidson). Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* 237 ff. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 419 ff. (§§ 1405 ff.). W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 98 f. Bennett, *Post. Exil. Prophs.* 36 ff., cf. 51 ff. Workman, *Servt. of Jeh.* Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 130 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 353 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs. ii.* 149 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 9 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 21 f., 392, 453 ff. Budde, *Relig. Isr.*, 208 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 302 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 224 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 266 ff., etc.

Cf. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 27 ff., 336 ff., where these chaps. are assigned to post-exilic times with chaps. 56 ff.; so also H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 370 ff. Note Kent's view formerly of exilic date of chaps. 40-55, Kent, *Jew. People*, 9 ff.

as Elam (vs. 2) is used here substantially for Persia (Anshan the hereditary kingdom of Cyrus was in Elam), McCurdy thinks this prophetic message belongs before 547 B.C., when Cyrus assumed the title "king of Persia."<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the fact that this message is less definite in its outlook than the following series of short prophecies (cf. below), it seems a reasonable inference that it was the earliest of them.<sup>2</sup>

Some scholars have considered that Isaiah 21 : 1-10 is a genuine prophecy of Isaiah, reflecting that prophet's concern in the siege of Babylon by the Assyrians and its fate in 710 B.C. The prophet's interest, according to this view, is explained by the fact that probably the king of Babylon at that time, Merodach-baladan, had a secret understanding with Judah (cf. Isa. 39). This opinion, which was formerly held by Driver, Cheyne and G. A. Smith, has been given up in their more recent writings in favor of the exilic date. Among other reasons against the earlier date is this, that in 710 B.C. the Elamites were the allies of the Babylonians and not their foes.

Many scholars date the remainder of chap. 21 = vss. 11 f. on Dumah and vss. 13-17 on Arabia at the same time as vss. 1-10, i.e. late exilic.<sup>3</sup>

*b. Isaiah 13 : 1-14 : 23.* Despite the heading (cf. 13 : 1), the evidence from the prophecy itself points unmistakably to the time of the Exile. The prophecy is a prediction of the overthrow of Babylon. The Babylon here described is not that of Isaiah's day (when it was subject to Assyria), but the Babylon of the Exile, holding many nations in subjection (cf. 13 : 11, 19 ; 14 : 5 f., 12 ff., 16 f.), and especially the power which has kept Israel long in bondage (14 : 1-3). The Medes are the people who are being stirred up to overthrow Babylon (13 : 17). The historical background is thus practically the same as in Isaiah 40-55.

It may be that all that was meant by the heading (13 : 1) originally was that the collection which followed on foreign nations was largely from Isaiah.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 418 (§ 1404).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, the view that Isa. 21 : 1-10 is rather later than 13 : 1-14 : 23 (Wade, Isa. in loc.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. further in reference to Isa. 21 : 1-10, *Introsds. and Comms. on Isa.* in loc. Cf. also Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 62.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cheyne, Isa. (SBOT), 173.

The conclusion for the exilic setting of Isa. 13:1-14:23 harmonizes with the intensity of feeling manifested in the prophecy against Babylon, which can be most naturally explained by a date in the closing period of the Exile.<sup>1</sup>

While there is general agreement in reference to the exilic date of this section, scholars are divided in opinion whether it belongs between 555 and 549 or between 549 and 538 B.C.

In the year 549 B.C. Cyrus defeated and captured his overlord Astyages at the head of the Scythians. This was accomplished by the aid of the Medes in the army of Astyages, who rebelled against him. Cyrus succeeded to his dominion, and after consolidating his kingdom began his career of conquest. Those holding to a date before 549 B.C. for Isa. 13:1-14:23 do so among other reasons because (a) Cyrus is not mentioned, and (b) after that year the enemy would be called Persians not Medes.<sup>2</sup> Those who consider it later than 549 B.C. maintain among other reasons: (a) that the Medes could hardly have been regarded before 549 B.C. by a Jewish prophet as their deliverer, and (b) further, that the term "Medes" is used here for "Persians."<sup>3</sup> Skinner concludes that the inferences from the arguments advanced in support of either position are inconclusive.<sup>4</sup>

14:1-4a (or 1-3) and 14:22 f. are considered by some scholars later editorial additions. See Biblical material outlined, p. 197, iii. a.<sup>5</sup>

c. *Jer.* 50:1-51:58. The historical background for this prophecy, notwithstanding the title (50:1), is clearly the same as the preceding. Babylon is threatened by a combination of nations led by the Medes (50:9, 41-43; 51:11, 27 f.). The Temple at Jerusalem has been destroyed (50:28; 51:11, 51). The Jews are in Exile suffering as a punishment for their sins (50:4 f., 7, 17, 33; 51:34 f.). Jehovah is now ready to forgive them and deliver them and they are exhorted to leave Babylon (50:20, 34; 51:33b, 36).

It may be noted that the clause in 50:1 attributing authorship to Jeremiah is wanting in the LXX.

<sup>1</sup> For arguments adduced from religious conceptions, style and language in Isa. 13:1-14:23, cf. Skinner, *Isa.* i. 104. Cheyne, *Introd.* *Isa.* 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 415 f. (§§ 1401 f.). Wade, *Isa.* 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Introd.* *Isa.* 78.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Skinner, *Isa.* i. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. further in reference to Isa. 13:1-14:23, *Introductions and Comments on Isa.* in loc. Cf. also Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 61 f.

That Jer. 50:1-51:58 does not belong to Jeremiah is seen by noticing the different point of view in these chaps. (a) The Exiles are encouraged with the hope of speedy release (cf. above), and they are exhorted to believe in its realization (cf. the parallel standpoint in Isa. 40-55, pp. 172 f.). Jeremiah, on the other hand, earnestly opposed the prophets who predicted the downfall of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews (cf. Jer. 27-29). (b) Further, these chaps. betray an intensity of feeling, which can be most naturally accounted for as coming from one who had suffered greatly from the Babylonians, and whose thoughts are those of vengeance (cf. the standpoint in Isa. 47:6 f.; 52:5). But Jeremiah received kindness from the Babylonians and regarded them, even when he was in Egypt, as instruments of divine Providence (cf. 39:11 ff.; 43:10 f.; 44:30). According to Davidson this section is "almost universally recognized to be of later date than Jeremiah and by another writer."<sup>1</sup> Some (e.g. Ewald and Duhm) have held that these chaps. and Isa. 34 f. (cf. pp. 215 ff.; 264, iv. 4) had the same author, but this view is not commonly accepted.

Some scholars regard this section as post-exilic owing to its "secondary rather than original" literary features. Cf. Peake, Cornill, Moore's LOT, 170, etc.<sup>2</sup>

d. Jer. 10:1-16. This short prophetic message may also with probability be assigned to the closing years of the Exile. The following are the more important reasons for this view: (a) it is not in harmony with the writings of Jeremiah which precede it, for the context contains a prediction of impending judgment upon the people, and they are referred to as already given up to idolatry (e.g. 7:18, 31, etc.), while in this section Israel is warned against learning idolatry (10:2). (b) Jeremiah's argument is that idols cannot help Judah in difficulties (2:28; 11:12, etc.); but in 10:1-16 the argument is that idols cannot harm any one and hence are not to be feared; and (c), the descriptions of vss. 3-5 and 9 indicate that the people are in the presence of an elaborate idolatry, which is being practised not by themselves but by the heathen, and the thought is that this worship does not deserve their consideration. This condition is well met by that of the Exiles in Babylon, who were in danger of losing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 573b (Davidson).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further in reference to Jer. 50:1-51:58, *Introsds. and Comms. on Jer. in loc.* Cf. also Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 62 ff.

their faith by the imposing forms of idolatry about them. Cf. the same line of thought in Isa. 40:19-22; 41:7, 29; 44:9-20; 46:5-7, etc.

The fact may also be noted that Jeremiah predicted again and again that Judah was to be overthrown by the Chaldeans (Babylonians), who from the standpoint of chap. 10:1-16, however, are a nation of idolaters, whose idols are not to be feared.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noticed also that 10:17 ff. connects logically with 9:21 f., which indicates that 10:1-16 is an interpolation.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. POETICAL WRITINGS

*A. Lamentations.* The book of Lamentations consists of five poems, each complete in itself. In the Hebrew they are written in elegiac meter, except the last, chap. 5. Chapters 1-4 are also alphabetical (acrostic) in structure, *i.e.* in chaps. 1, 2 and 4 each verse and in chap. 3 each set of three verses (cf. grouping in R. V. ed. 1881-1885) begin with successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which are twenty-two in number.<sup>3</sup>

"This book furnishes the most striking example of the Hebrew elegiac or *Qinah* metre, according to which each number of a verse is divided into two unequal parts, the former being the longer. This arrangement gives the lines a sort of 'dying fall' suited to a melancholy subject, *e.g.*: —

1:4b	{ All her gates are desolate,	7	} Hebrew syllables.
	{ — her priests sigh:	6	
4c	{ Her virgins are afflicted,	6	
	{ — bitter is she.	3	

The English translation can only partially represent this peculiarity. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The circumstances reflected in the poems are very clear. Jerusalem has suffered the horrors of a siege (1:11, 19; 2:11 f., 19 f.; 4:3-9) and capture (5:11 f., cf. 2:12, 20 f.), and now lies waste, — the Temple being destroyed and its accustomed services at an end (1:4; 2:5 ff.; 4:1). The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. further in reference to Jer. 10:1-16, *Introductions and Comments on Jeremiah* in loc.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that chap. 5, while not in elegiac meter nor alphabetical in form, has twenty-two vss.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 56.



king and people now languish in captivity (1:3, 5 ff.; 2:9). Reference is also made to Edom's treacherous conduct (4:21 f.), and to the disappointment experienced from expectation of help from some outside power, most naturally to be explained as Egypt, in connection with the rebellion against Babylon (1:19a; 4:17). The Hebrews have become the object of contempt of all nations (1:17; 3:14).

The reading of the Pesh. and many Hebrew MSS. in 3:14, "peoples" instead of "my people" (E. V.), is one which has found favor with many scholars.

The historical background of these poems seems most naturally to be that of the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., and the deportation of the people (2 Ki. 25), which are depicted therein as accomplished facts.

Two further facts need to be considered in assigning a date to these poems. *First*, the impression which they give, in the vivid descriptions of Jerusalem's condition during the siege, of being the work, — at least the greater portion of the poems, — of an eye-witness (or eye-witnesses), or of a younger contemporary (or contemporaries) of that event. And *secondly*, the elaborate and intricate structure of these alphabetical poems (giving evidence of being the productions of calm reflection) naturally points to a date later than the time immediately succeeding the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

It is not improbable that they belong to different years during this period, and so may be assigned to 580–550 B.C. (c. 570–560 B.C. = Gray, *Intro.* 167).

The present tendency among scholars is to regard Lamentations as a collection of poems by different authors, though opinion is divided as to their order (historically) and what chaps. belong together. The view has commended itself to many that chaps. 2 and 4, with their vivid portrayal of the calamity and their hopelessness as to outlook, are the earliest; and that chaps. 3 and 5 are the latest. Chap. 3 is assigned to post-exilic times by a number of scholars.

As regards the authorship of the poems, the prevailing opinion among scholars is against the traditional view which ascribes them to Jeremiah. The following are some of the considerations upon which this conclusion is based: (a) the fact that the tradition comes through the LXX, which is supposed by many to be based

in turn on 2 Chr. 35 : 25, and thus represents a view three centuries later than Jeremiah. The Hebr. MSS. are silent on the point of authorship. (b) The artificial style of these poems (cf. above) is in marked contrast to the spontaneous expression of Jeremiah; (c) the different point of view and tone in the poems from those of Jeremiah; e.g. the vindictive spirit in reference to the Chaldeans (Babylonians), cf. 1 : 21 f., 3 : 59 ff.; whereas Jeremiah's attitude towards them was sympathetic, as Jehovah's instrument of punishing Judah (e.g. Jer. 25 : 27-29; chaps. 34, 37, etc.). The prevailing tone of despair in these poems also differs from the spirit which characterized the prophet, who, though he at times gave way to grief, was as well a man of hope and action (cf. Jer. 42, etc.); and (d) the statements that there is no true prophet (cf. 2 : 9, 14; 4 : 13 ff.) cannot reasonably be attributed to Jeremiah. Note also the position of the book in the third division of the Canon, not the second in which Jeremiah's prophecies are found. Cf. further, *Intros.*, *Bible Dicts.* and *Comms.* G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 272 ff.<sup>1 2</sup>

B. "*The Song of Moses*," Deuteronomy 32 : 1-43. This song attributed to Moses (cf. 31 : 30; 32 : 44) is evidently of later origin than his day. This is seen in (a), vss. 7-12, which clearly indicate that Israel had been for a long time in possession of Palestine. Cf. also (b), the evidence in vss. 13-20, viz. that through its idolatry the nation had been brought low.

The date of the poem depends upon what nation is referred to as oppressing Israel (vss. 34-39, cf. vs. 21), which Jehovah

<sup>1</sup> Kent's grouping and dates for the poems are as follows: chaps. 2 and 4 = between 586 and 561 B.C.; chap. 1 = between 560 and 540 B.C.; chap. 5 = approximately the same time as chap. 1; chap. 3 = last half of Persian or first part of the Greek period. Cf. his *Songs*, etc., 19 ff. See summary of views, LOT, 464 f. Cf. Cheyne's dates, p. 270, n.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Lamentations, LOT, 456 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 210 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 92 f., 193. McFadyen, *Introd.* 294 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 411 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 163 ff. Moore, LOT, 226 f. HDB, iii. 20 ff. (Selbie); iv. 149b (Davison); 13a (Budde); iii. 614a (Budde); extra vol. 723b, n. \* (Kautzsch). EBi, iii. 2696 ff. (Cheyne); 3801 (Duhm). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Lam. espec. Camb. B. (Streane); Cen. B. (Peake). Cf. Adeney, *Song of Sol.* etc. (*Expos. B.*), 63 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 54 ff. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 18 ff., 73 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 71 ff. Cheyne, *Jer. Life and Times*, 177 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 356 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 292 ff. (§§ 1237 ff.). McFadyen, *Psal.* 295 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 340 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 23 f., 391. Kent, *Jew. People*, 11 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 211, 215. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. pp. 271 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 246 ff.

is to punish, whether Syria, Assyria or Babylonia. Accordingly it has been assigned to the following possible dates, c. 800 B.C. (*e.g.* Dillmann); c. 722 B.C. (Ewald, etc.); the reign of Jehoiakim, 608–597 B.C. (*e.g.* H. P. Smith, Gray), or the Exile (Cornill, Kautzsch, G. A. Smith, Moore, CHB, Hex., Driver, Robinson, Kent, etc.)

Cf. c. 560 B.C. = Kautzsch; 570–550 B.C. = Kent.<sup>1</sup>

While it is difficult to determine the historical occasion with certainty, the period of the Exile, which seems to be presupposed in vss. 36 ff., may be regarded as on the whole the most probable time of its composition. Assuming then its exilic origin, the poem must have been incorporated in JED by the Deuteronomic compiler (R<sup>D2</sup>). If an earlier date is taken, it must have been included in the Prophetic sources, J, E or JE.<sup>2</sup>

C. *Psalms*. There seems little doubt that our Psalter, the final compilation of which dates from post-exilic times, contains psalms which had their origin during the Exile. According to McCurdy "no period of Israel's history was more likely to give rise to such poems of the heart than was the Exile."<sup>3</sup> Scholars, however, differ in opinion as to their number and identification. For some of the exilic groupings of psalms given by different scholars, cf. pp. 194 (a); 196 f., ii. 5. a.–c.

#### 4. LEGAL CODIFICATIONS, — THE LAW OF HOLINESS (LEVITICUS 17–26)

This name, first applied by Klostermann in 1877 to this distinct body of laws, which was incorporated in the Priestly Code, has been adopted by most recent scholars. The name was suggested by the motive or principle of "holiness,"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, *Beginnings*, etc., chron. table in Preface. See, however, his more recent conclusion that this poem is probably to be dated in the first half of the Persian period. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 261.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Deut. 32: 1–43, LOT, 96 f. Bennett, *Introd.* 75. Kautzsch, LOT, 93 f., 194. McFadyen, *Introd.* 50, n. 1. Cornill, *Introd.* 122 ff. HDB, iv. 149a (Davison); extra vol. 685a (Kautzsch). EBI, i. 1089 (Moore). *Comms.* on Deut. in loc., espec. *Int. Crit.* (Driver); *Expos. B.* (A. Harper); *Cen. B.* (Robinson). CHB, Hex. i. 161 ff. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 261 ff. Schmidt, *Poets*, 336 ff. G. A. Smith, *Early Poet. Isr.*, 75 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 19 f. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 93, 215, n. 5. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 290 f. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 131. Gray, *Introd.* 46, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. pp. 387 f. (§ 1363).

which occupies so prominent a place in these chapters, *e.g.* 19:2; 20:7 f., 26; 21:6 ff., 15, 23, etc. This Code is usually designated by the symbol H. Other designations are P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>h</sup>, etc.

Among the different reasons adduced for the opinion that these chapters form a distinct code the following may be noted: (a) the motive of "holiness" already referred to, which, while it is employed in other parts of the legal literature (*e.g.* Ex. 22:31 = E; Deut. 14:2, 21 = D), does not have the leading place given to it in those sections, such as it has in this Code; (b) this group of chapters has an opening (chap. 17) and a closing section (chap. 26), after the manner of the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Code; and (c) the distinct phraseology "expressing the leading ideas of the collection": *e.g.* "I am Jehovah," especially at the close of an injunction (cf. 18:2, 4 ff.; 19:3 f., etc., nearly fifty times); "for I Jehovah am holy" (cf. 19:2; 20:26, etc.); "that sanctify you (them)" (cf. 20:8; 21:8, etc.); "I will cut off from among his (its, their) people" (cf. 17:10; 20:3 ff., etc.); the word for idols, "elîlîm" (= "not-gods," or "things of nought," 19:4; 26:1), which is not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch.<sup>1</sup>

Cf. further under (b) above that Lev. 17 contains instruction in reference to the place of slaughtering animals, etc. Note the content of Ex. 20:24 ff. (E) and Deut. 12 (D). The closing section, Lev. 26, is hortatory in tone; notice the subscription vs. 46. Cf. Ex. 23:20 ff. and Deut. 28, the close respectively of the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Code. Observe the resemblance between Lev. 26 and Deut. 28.

Further reasons for considering Lev. 17-26 a separate part of the Priestly legislation are: (d) the fact that the hortatory setting of the laws in this section has no parallel in other parts of P.<sup>2</sup> And (e) the character of the laws, 60 per cent of which relate to religion and morals in social life (*e.g.* the family, persons, animals, property, etc.), which have no parallels with other parts of P, but which can be paralleled (topically) practically in E or D. "Only 40 per cent come under heads where parallels with the rest of P are numerous."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the characteristic words and phrases of H the lists in LOT, 49 f. CHB, Hex. i. 220 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 2783 (Moore).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HDB, iii. 107b f. (Harford-Battersby).

The following are some of the more important facts bearing upon the date of the compilation of this Code.

*First*, its relation to the other legal codes. It occupies a position intermediate between the Deuteronomic Code (and the laws in JE) on the one hand, and the completed Priestly ritual (P) on the other, being more closely allied with the former than the latter. Thus (a) it harmonizes with Deuteronomy in that it contains no reference to the Levites as an inferior order of the priestly tribe, such as the distinction is in P; (b) the reference to the High Priest (21:10), as one greater than his brethren, is different in a marked degree from the High Priest in the more developed ritual of P (cf. Lev. 16; Ex. 28 f.);<sup>1</sup> and (c) like the Deuteronomic Code (cf. Deut. 12:1, 20; 19:1 ff.; 21:1 ff., etc.) its provisions also are represented as being designed to go into operation after the settlement in Canaan (cf. Lev. 18:3, 24; 19:23; 20:22-24, etc.). On the other hand it harmonizes with P in the place given to ceremonial interests, as seen in " manifold details concerning sacred acts, persons, places, times and instruments."

According to Moore the affinities of H are with JE and D rather than with P.<sup>2</sup> Note for example the resemblance between Lev. 19, on the one hand, and Ex. 20-23 and Deut., espec. chaps. 23 ff., on the other. Cf. also the similarity between Lev. 19 and the Decalogue, Ex. 20:1-17.

The distinction between the Levites and the priests is first brought out in Ezek. 44:9 ff.; cf. in P, Num. 18. In Deut. Levites and priests are synonymous terms (cf. pp. 126 and 242 f.).

Another point of difference between H and P is found in the enactment of the feast of booths. According to its original form in Lev. 23:39-44 it was to be observed 7 days instead of 8 (vs. 39b = H, cf. 39c = P), and was determined by the season, "when ye have gathered in the fruits of the land" (39b). The mention of "the 8th day" (39c) and "the 15th day of the 7th mo." (39a) are considered by scholars to be later supplements by P, inconsistent with vs. 40-42, these additions belonging probably to the time when H was incorporated into the Priestly Code. Note also the

<sup>1</sup> In P the High Priest "has taken the place of the king as the civil and religious head of the theocratic state. On entering upon his office he receives 'a kingly unction,' and is invested with the purple robe and the 'holy crown' or diadem, the two insignia of royalty in the Persian period (cf. Lev. 8:7-9)." Kennedy, Lev., etc., 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 2791 f. (Moore).

fact that the list of sacrifices is more limited in H than in P proper; *e.g.* no mention is made of the sin and guilt offering in the former.

Cf. further in reference to the High Priest [see (b) above], the fact that in Ezek. he is *primus inter pares* (45:19). See also 2 Ki. 11:15; 16:11; 22:4; Jer. 21:1; 29:25.

Another proof that H represents a less advanced stage of the ritual development is seen in the fact that the injunction imposed upon the High Priest in H (Lev. 21:10) is placed upon all the priests in P (Lev. 10:6 f.).

*Secondly*, the relation of the Holiness Code to Ezekiel. This relates not only to laws in H which are implied or referred to in Ezekiel (*e.g.* Ezek. 22:7a, cf. Lev. 20:9; Ezek. 4:14, cf. Lev. 22:8, etc.), and to common phraseology, especially between Lev. 26:3 ff. and Ezekiel (*e.g.* cf. with Lev. 26:26, Ezek. 4:16, 5:16, 14:13; with Lev. 26:39, cf. Ezek. 4:17, 24:23), but as well to a common spirit which pervades them, — “both are actuated largely by the same principles, and aim at realizing the same ends” (*e.g.* regard for the Sanctuary, cf. Lev. 19:30; 20:3, etc., with Ezek. 5:11; 8:6; 23:38 f., etc.; also emphasis on the same virtues, such as purity of conduct, reverence for parents, justice, honesty, etc.; cf. Lev. 18:19 ff.; 20:9 ff. with Ezek. 18:6 ff.; 22:7 ff., etc.).<sup>1</sup>

“This list of identities and resemblances” (*i.e.* between the Holiness Code and Ezekiel) “is without a parallel in the rest of the Old Testament,” and hence some scholars have been led to consider Ezekiel the compiler of H. Owing, however, to the fact that there are stylistic differences as well as resemblances between the two, that view is not widely held. “Perhaps it is more probable that the two codes owe their resemblance to the use of the same material, *viz.* the traditional ordinances of the Temple at Jerusalem.”<sup>2</sup>

It may be noted also that on the question of priority there is difference of opinion.

*Thirdly*, indications of date in Lev. 26. References in this chapter to worship at “high places” and to “sun-pillars” (vs. 30) point to a time when such cultus was current.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the elements common to Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness, LOT, 145 ff. EBi, ii. 1470 f. (Toy); iii. 2790 f. (Moore). HDB, iii. 108a (Harford-Battersby). CHB, Hex. i. 147 ff. Chapman and Streane, Lev. 180 ff.; also the excellent table in Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 246 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 253; Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 74.

Further, treatment of national penitence with promise of restoration (vss. 40 ff.), and vivid descriptions of the consequences of disobedience (vss. 14-39), are held by many to imply the time of the Exile; cf. also 18:25-30.

As bearing on the above argument, it may be added, that sun worship, which had been introduced in the time of Ahaz, c. 735 ff. B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 16:10 ff.), and whose symbols had later been destroyed by Josiah (2 Ki. 23:4), would naturally be again celebrated when Babylon became supreme.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the special mention of Molech in Lev. 18:21; 20:2.

The inference for date from Lev. 26, mentioned above, is not accepted by all scholars. Thus Driver thinks that the contents of the chapter need not imply more than a date close to the Exile. Others (e.g. Moore) think the references in the chapter implying the Exile are later insertions. He considers H in its original form as "the product of the same age with Deuteronomy," i.e. in the half century preceding Ezekiel.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the above facts, while the decision of the exact date for the compilation of this Code is difficult to determine, the conclusion that it belongs to the time of the Exile and subsequent to Ezekiel, and that it was compiled by one imbued with his spirit (c. 560-550 B.C.), is one which has found acceptance with many scholars.

In assigning this as the probable date for H the reader is reminded that this refers to the *codification* not to the origin of the particular laws contained therein. The work of the compiler, which is marked by the hortatory portions, it seems most likely belongs approximately to the age of Ezekiel, — if prior to Ezekiel "it cannot at any rate be much earlier." The sources of this Code (= the legal provisions incorporated) doubtless were pre-exilic, and some of the enactments may possibly go back as far as the time of Moses. In the words of Harford-Battersby: "In their form and in their substance these laws may well be very ancient. Their antiquity indeed is better established than any theory of their origin. An attractive and plausible conjecture, however, is that they represent J's missing legislation."<sup>3</sup>

For later editorial additions when H was united with the main

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 14 f., 259 f. (= §§ 856, 1191).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Driver, etc., Lev. (SBOT), 101. LOT, 145 f., 149 ff., EBi, iii. 2787, 2791 (Moore). Moore, LOT, 54. Kennedy, Lev., etc., 28, 119, etc. Cf. contra Moore's view of chap. 26, CHB, Hex. i. 151 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HDB, iii. 108a. See also CHB, Hex. i. 145 f.

Priestly Code (P), see notes under Biblical material arranged p. 194, iii. b. c.

For other portions of the Pentateuch attributed to H, cf. p. 194, iii. d.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of the Law of Holiness, LOT, 47 ff., 145 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 52 f., 67. Kautzsch, LOT, 100 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 31 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 132 ff. Chapman, *Introd. Pent.* 240 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 41. Moore, LOT, 53 f. HDB, ii. 374 (Woods); iii. 69b f. (Driver); 105b ff. (Harford-Battersby); extra vol. 715a (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2056 (Cheyne); iii. 2738 f. (Gray); 2782 ff. (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Lev.*, espec. Camb. B. (Chapman and Streane); Cen. B. (Kennedy); SBOT (Driver and White). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 73 f. Kent, *Isr. Laws and Precedents*, 36 ff. CHB, Hex. i. 143 ff., 151 f.; ii. 166 ff. McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 387 (§ 1362). W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 428 ff. Kent, *Lawgivers*, 36, 40 f. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 333 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 126 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 25 f., 72 ff. Budde, *Relig. Isr.* 205. Kittel, *Scient. Study* O. T. 85 f.

Cf. also Davidson, *Ezek.* liii f. Lofthouse, *Ezek.* 30 f.



VIII. B. NARRATIVES AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF THE EXILE, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED (586-538 B.C.). Narratives = 2 Ki. 25:22-30; Jer. 39:10-14; 40:1-43:7; 52:28-34. Prophecies = Jer. 43:8-44:30; Ezek. 25-28; 29:17-21; chaps. 32; 33-48; Isa. 21:1-10; 13:1-14:23; Jer. 50:1-51:58; Isa. 40-55; Jer. 10:1-16. Poetry = Lamentations; Deut. 32:1-43 ("The Song of Moses"); some psalms. Legal literature = the Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26).<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION I, 586-570 B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of the Jews, 586-570 B.C.* [especially for 586-581 (?) B.C.]

2 Ki. 25:22. Gedaliah appointed governor, etc. (cf. Jer. 39:10; also 40:5). 586 B.C.

Jer. 39:11-14. Jeremiah's release by the Chaldeans.  
40:1-16. Gedaliah's assurance to the people, etc. (with vss. 7-12 cf. 2 Ki. 25:23 f.). c. 586 B.C.

41:1-43:7. Gedaliah's assassination; migration to Egypt, etc. (with 41:1-10 cf. 2 Ki. 25:25; with 43:1-7 cf. 2 Ki. 25:26). c. 581 (?) B.C.

52:28-30. Summary of different bands taken captive by the Chaldeans; viz. c. 587, 586 and 581 B.C.

ii. *Literary productions, 586-570 B.C.*

1. *Prophetic messages of Ezekiel in Babylonia, during 586 B.C. and the years immediately afterwards.* (Chaps. 25-28; 32; 33-39.)

a. *Those relating to foreign nations (chaps. 25-28; 32).*

Chap. 25. Predictions of the destruction of Ammon and other neighboring nations.

26:1-28:19. Predictions of the downfall of Tyre. 586-585 B.C.

28:20-23. A prediction of Sidon's punishment.

28:24-26. A prediction of Israel's restoration.

32. A prediction of Pharaoh's (Egypt's) destruction, etc. 585-584 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> For other literary productions, including Deut. historical redactions, cf. pp. 193 f., 3; 196 f., 4, 5.

*b. Those relating to the restoration of the Exiles (chaps. 33-39), 586 ff. B.C.*

Chap. 33. The responsibility of the prophet, etc. Dec.-Jan. 586-585 B.C.

34. The selfishness of Israel's past rulers, etc.

35-36. Judgment upon Edom; Israel's restoration to its land, etc.

37. Symbolical predictions of the reviving and unifying of Israel.

38:1-39:24. Judgment upon Gog's hosts (= heathendom).

39:25-29. A renewed promise of restoration and divine favor.

2. *Messages of Jeremiah in Egypt. Jer. 43:8-44:30. c. 581(?)*

B.C.

Chap. 43:8-13. Symbolic prediction of the Babylonian conquest of Egypt.

44. Denunciation of Jewish idolatry in Egypt, etc.

3. (Obad. vss. 10-14, Edom's treacherous conduct denounced.)

4. *Prophetic messages of Ezekiel, Mch.-Apr. 572 B.C. The constitution of restored Israel. Chaps. 40-48.*

Chaps. 40-43. The description and dimensions of the Temple.

44-46. The ministers and regulations of the Temple.

47-48. The Temple and the land.

5. *Ezekiel's supplemental message on Egypt. Mch.-Apr. 570 B.C.*

Chap. 29:17-21. The promise of Egypt to Nebuchadrezzar, etc.

iii. *Composition of the historical sources and literary productions.*

*a. Of the section 2 Ki. 25:22-26, vs. 22 = R<sup>D2</sup>; vss. 23-26 = a condensation of Jer. 40:7-43:7 by R<sup>D2</sup>.*

*b. The narrative sections from Jer., given in the Biblical outline above (= 39:10 ff.), are assigned by recent scholars with a great deal of probability to Baruch. Cf. pp. 193, 3. a.; 105.*

*c. On the omission of Jer. 39:10-13 from the LXX, cf. p. 167, iii. d.*

*d. For the difficulties in comparing the narratives in Jer. 39:11-14 and 40:1 ff. with solutions cf. Comms. in loc.*

*e. For the possibility of Jer. 42:7-22 being later in form than the rest of the section cf. HDB, ii. 572b (Davidson), etc.*

*f. By some scholars the section, Ezek. 27:9b-25a, is regarded as an interpolation because it interrupts the context. The remainder of the chapter describes a ship, while these vss. portray a trading city and its customers. But as the style is Ezekiel's, if this section did not belong originally to the description, it may well*

have been inserted subsequently by the prophet himself. Cf. further *Introdus.* and *Comms.* in *loc.*

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The beginning of this period dates from 586 B.C., when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldeans and large numbers of the people were deported to Babylonia (cf. 2 Ki. 25). The year c. 538 B.C. marks its close, when permission was given the Exiles by Cyrus to return to their own land. The year 581 B.C. is based on the reference in Jer. 52:30 to a deportation of Jews from Judea in that year (23rd of Nebuchadrezzar's reign), which many scholars think was occasioned by the murder of Gedaliah (cf. Jer. 41, p. 190). It may be added that others (*e.g.* Davidson) think Gedaliah's death occurred c. 586 B.C. (cf. Davidson, *Isa.* TB, 220).

b. On the reading 17th instead of 7th year in Jer. 52:28, cf. p. 168, iv. b.

c. The prophecy of Obadiah has been, and still is by a number of scholars (*e.g.* Driver, G. A. Smith, Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 86 f. etc.), dated in the early Exile. While the post-exilic period seems on the whole a more probable time for its origin (see pp. 212-215), practically all scholars agree that vss. 10-14 refer to the treacherous conduct of Edom at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. As these vss. describe that experience so vividly they are included in the outline above, p. 191, ii. 3.

d. The date 586 (585) B.C. for the section, Ezek. 26:1-28:19, is derived from 26:1 (= 11th year, *i.e.* from the 1st captivity, 597 B.C.). The month of the year is not given, but it must have been after the 4th (June-July), the mo. in which Jerusalem was taken (cf. 2 Ki. 25:2; Jer. 52:6 f.).

e. In Ezek. 32, vss. 1-16 date from Feb.-Mch. 585-584 B.C. (vs. 1 = 12th mo.). Vss. 17-32 are a fortnight later than vss. 1-16 (cf. vs. 17), if the same mo. is meant in vs. 17 as in vs. 1. Note also that in vs. 1 the Syriac reads the 11th instead of the 12th year, and in vs. 17 the LXX reads the 1st mo. of the 12th year. The combination of these readings gives an interval of six weeks between the two sections of the chap. Cf. *Introdus.* and *Comms.* in *loc.* for discussion.

f. Ezek. 40-48 dates from the 1st mo. (cf. 40:1) = Mch.-Apr. Some, however, think that here the prophet refers to the ecclesiastical year, the beginning of which = the 7th mo. and 10th day of the civil year (cf. Lev. 25:9) = Sept.-Oct. Cf. Skinner, Ezek. 384, n. 1.

g. Ezek. 29:17-21 dates from the 1st mo. (cf. vs. 17) = Mch.-Apr.

## SECTION II, 570-538 B.C.

- i. *Sources for the history of the Exiles*, 570-538 B.C.
  - 2 Ki. 25: 27-30 (//Jer. 52: 31-34). The release of Jehoiachin. Feb.-Mch. 560 (559) B.C. See also p. 199, iv. a.
- ii. *Literary productions*, 570-538 B.C., e.g. those c. 560 ff. B.C.
  1. *The Law of Holiness*, Leviticus 17-26. c. 560-550 (?) B.C.
  2. *The book of Lamentations*. c. 580-550 (?) B.C.  
Chaps. 1-5. The fate of Jerusalem and the people bewailed, etc.
  3. *Miscellaneous literary work of the first half of the Exile*, 586-c. 560 (or 550)? B.C.
    - a. The composition of the biographical sections in the book of Jeremiah (e.g. as found in chaps. 26, 27-29, 34-44 in the main, etc.), perhaps by Baruch, and the combination of these with Jeremiah's prophecies = first half of the Exile.<sup>1</sup>
    - b. Deut. 32: 1-43, "The Song of Moses." c. 560-550 (?) B.C. = Jehovah's past favors and Israel's ingratitude, etc.
    - c. *Literary activity of the Deuteronomic compilers*, c. 560 (?) ff. B.C.
      - (a) The completion of Deuteronomy: i.e. to chaps. 5-26 + 28 (= D), the addition (D<sup>2</sup>) of chaps. 1-4 (= an historical introduction to the book); chaps. 27 + 29-31 (= hortatory additions) and chaps. 32-34 (except 32: 48-52; 34: 1a, 5b, 7-9 = P) = poems, etc., incorporated.<sup>2</sup>
      - (b) The combination of JE in the Hexateuch and D by R<sup>D</sup> = JED.
      - (c) The Deuteronomic redaction (R<sup>D</sup>, or D<sup>2</sup>) of the book of Judges [e.g. the prefixing of the introductory section (largely) to the history of the Judges, viz. chaps. 2: 6-3: 6, together with other additions to chaps. 3-16 (see pp. 45 f.; 50 f., iii. b)]; also the Deuteronomic redaction (R<sup>D</sup>, or D<sup>2</sup>) of the books of Samuel = but few additions; see pp. 54, ii. c.; 75, iii. d. etc.
      - (d) The second Deuteronomic redaction (R<sup>D2</sup>) of the books of Kings. See pp. 61 f.
    - d. *Other literature which may belong to the early part (or middle) of the Exile.*

<sup>1</sup> "These narratives are founded almost everywhere on excellent information, which could only have been obtained from records made by Jeremiah or Baruch themselves, or from the statements of eyewitnesses." Kautzsch, LOT, 85; cf. EBi, ii. 2081 (Moore). The combination of these narratives with the prophecies of Jeremiah may have taken place later than the Exile. Cf. Peake, Jer. i. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Many scholars hold the view that chaps. 5-11 were not included in the original book of Deuteronomy but were added during the Exile.

✓ (a) Pss. 74, 79, according to Kirkpatrick are // to Lam. (15 or 20 years after 586 B.C.).

✓ Ps. 89 = possibly before 561 B.C. (= Jehoiachin's release).

(b) The Servant poems = Isa. 42:1-4 (5-9); 49:1-6 (7-13); 50:4-9 (10 f.); and 52:13-53:12, according to some scholars were composed by an author prior to Deut.-Isa. whose date = 565-550 B.C. Cf. Whitehouse, Isa. ii. pp. 21 ff. Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. 58. See note and other dates mentioned, pp. 198 f., iii. k.<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Composition of the history and the literary productions*, c. 560 ff. B.C.

a. 2 Ki. 25:27-30 probably was written by the Deut. compiler of the Exile (R<sup>D2</sup>). Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

b. It is the opinion of scholars that the most of Lev. 17-26 (H) has been subject to a later priestly revision (R<sup>P</sup>). The following = the principal portions attributed to R<sup>P</sup>, 17:1-2, 6, 7b, 15-16, besides different phrases and clauses in vss. 3-9; 18:1-2a(?); 19:1-2a, 8b, 21 f.; 20:1-2a; in chap. 23 (cf. below n. c); chap. 24 (except vss. 15b-22 = H); 25 (in part).<sup>2</sup>

c. Lev. 23 is believed by scholars to contain two sources, — laws from H and P being combined probably by a later Priestly compiler to supplement one another. In H the occasion and date of the feasts are related to the land and agriculture (cf. vss. 9b-20, 22, 39b = "when . . . seven days," 40-43) as in JE (Ex. 23:15 f.; 34:18, 22) and D (Deut. 16:1, 9, 13). In the P sections (= vss. 1-9a, 21, 23-38, 39a, 39c, 44) the occasions are regarded as arbitrarily fixed for religious observances. It is to be noticed further that the content of the H sections is outside the subject of the chapter as defined in vss. 2, 4 and 37 f. (viz. "holy convocations" = P). Cf. further Intros. and Comms. in loc.

d. Several other sections in the Pentateuch have been regarded by different scholars as having, in more or less marked degree, the characteristics of H. There is difference of opinion, however, as to the number of such passages. The following are some of the portions assigned to this source, Ex. 6:6-8; 12:12 f.; 31:13, 14a; Lev. 10:9a, 10 f.; 11:1-23, 41-47 (in its original form, or at least vss. 43-45); Num. 10:9 f.; 15:37-41. Cf. LOT, 38, 59, 151. EBi, iii. 2787 (see full list n. 4), etc.

e. For the suggestion that the book of Deut. took the place originally occupied by the Book of the Covenant, at the time of the combination of JE and D, cf. p. 41, iv. e.

<sup>1</sup> For the remainder of the literature of the period 570-538 B.C., i.e. the literary productions of 556-538 B.C., see pp. 195-197.

<sup>2</sup> This revision of H probably occurred when it was incorporated in the larger P Code prior to 444 B.C.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The Law of Holiness is also assigned by a number of recent scholars to the closing decades of the kingdom of Judah. Cf. p. 166, ii. j.

b. While the book of Lamentations may not have been completed till towards the closing years of the Exile, logically it is connected with the earlier years of that period rather than with the later, i.e. with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. rather than with the prophecies connected with the deliverance from Babylon.

c. Lam. 3 is considered by a number of scholars the latest of this group of poems on account of its highly artificial structure. Its date may be post-exilic. Cf. *Introductions and Comments* in loc. For Kent's dates for these poems, cf. p. 183, n. <sup>1</sup>. For Cheyne's classification, cf. p. 270, n. <sup>8</sup>.

d. As bearing on the date of the additions to the original book of Deut., cf. the fact that the Exile is presupposed in Deut. 4: 27-31; 29: 28; and 30: 1-3.

e. Probably the Priestly Code (P) was compiled in part at least during the Exile, though not promulgated till post-exilic times. See pp. 247 f.; cf. 244 (b).

## SECTION II (cont'd), 570-538 B.C.

i. *Sources for the history*, 556 ff. B.C. See espec. p. 199, iv. a.

ii. *Literary productions*, 570-538 B.C.; e.g. those in 556-538 B.C.

1. *Brief (anonymous) prophetic messages*. 556-549(?) B.C.

a. Isa. 21: 1-10. Vision of Babylon's destruction, etc.

b. Isa. 13: 1-14: 23. Babylon's downfall and Israel's restoration, etc.

c. Jer. 50: 1-51: 58. Babylon's impending destruction and Israel's release, etc.

2. *Prophetic messages of Isaiah 40-55 (Deutero-Isaiah)*. c. 540 B.C.

Chap. 40. Jehovah's restoration of the Exiles announced, etc.

41. Jehovah, not idols, has raised up the conqueror from the east, etc.

42. The first Servant passage, — His character and mission (vss. 1-9), etc.

43: 1-44: 5. Israel to be ransomed and restored; Babylon to fall, etc.

44: 6-45: 25. Jehovah alone as god; the folly of idol worship, etc.

46. The helplessness of Babylonian idols contrasted with Jehovah's character, etc.

47. A prediction of Babylon's humiliation on account of its cruelty, etc.

48. Jehovah's object in giving or withholding predictions, etc.

49: 1-13. The second Servant passage, — His call and mission described, etc.

49: 14-50: 3. The return and prosperity of the Exiles predicted, etc.

50: 4-11. The third Servant passage, — source of His strength in persecution, etc.

51: 1-52: 12. The righteous Exiles exhorted to believe in their restoration by Jehovah, etc.

52: 13-53: 12. The fourth Servant passage, — the exaltation of the suffering Servant.

54. Assurance of restoration and prosperity, etc.

55. Invitation to share in the blessings of restoration, etc.

3. *A prophetic fragment towards the end of the Exile*, c. 546-538 B.C. Jer. 10: 1-16. A warning against idolatry.

4. *Other prophetic fragments possibly exilic.*

a. Zeph. 3: 14-20 = prediction of the ideal future. Assigned by many scholars to the close of the Exile (or immediately after); cf. p. 157, v. d.

b. Amos 9: 8b-15 (or vss. 11-15) = promise of restoration, etc. Cf. p. 142, iii. d.

c. Isa. 34-35, Edom's punishment and Israel's future = towards end of Exile (Driver, Kirkpatrick; cf. McCurdy, etc.).<sup>1</sup> For the chronological setting of these chaps. in this vol. cf. pp. 215 f.; 264, iv. 4.

d. Zech. 2: 6-13 = a prediction of Zion's future glory. Assigned to the closing years of the Exile by a number of scholars. Cf. p. 254, iii. e.

e. For lists of other sections of prophecy, which may possibly be exilic or post-exilic additions to the prophetic literature, cf. pp. 306-308.

5. *Psalms and poems which possibly may be exilic.*

a. According to McCurdy the following at least belong to the Exile: 22; 51; 69; 71; 84 and 102. Pss. 126 and 137, which he believes were written in Palestine after the 1st Return, c. 537 B.C., also "belong virtually" to the exilic period.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 226; Driver, Isa. Life and Times, 130 ff. Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 203. Moore, LOT, 155 f. Note McCurdy, HPM, iii. p. 418, n. 3 (§ 1404) = that chap. 35 at least is exilic; and Gray, Introd. 188 = parts of chaps. 34 f., may be exilic.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. McCurdy, HPM, iii. pp. 387 f. (§ 1363).

b. The following is Kirkpatrick's grouping of psalms of this period:—

68 = probably the last decade of the Exile, // to Isa. 40 ff.

22 = possibly parallel to Isa. 53.

94; possibly, however, post-exilic.

102.

In addition to the above and Pss. 74, 79 and 89 [cf. p. 194, *d.* (a)], he also assigns to the Exile, 71; 77; 80; 139 (? = possibly post-exilic) 90 (probably) and 91(?).

c. According to Briggs the following thirteen psalms are exilic: 42-43; 63; 74; 77:1-15; 79; 81:5c-14; 82; 84; 88; 89:17-21, 3 f., 22-45; 90; 137 and 142.<sup>1</sup>

d. Ex. 15:1-18 = Moses' Song of Triumph, according to some scholars dates at the earliest from the time of the Exile.<sup>2</sup> For its chronological setting in this vol. see p. 83, v. b.

e. 2 Sam. 23:1-7 = the Last Words of David. Exilic according to Cheyne.<sup>3</sup>

### iii. *Composition of the literary productions, 556-538 B.C.*

a. Isa. 14:1-4a (or vss. 1-3), on account of its style, which is different from the sections preceding and following, is considered by a number of scholars as editorial. By some (*e.g.* Cheyne) vss. 22 f. are also attributed to the same source. Cf. *Intros.* and *Comms.* in loc.

b. Jer. 51:20-24 interrupts the context and may be an interpolation. It is uncertain whether Israel, Cyrus or Babylon is addressed in these vss. Cf. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. p. 144, n. 1. Others consider vss. 15-19 an interpolation (cf. 10:12-16), and vss. 20-24 as connecting logically with vss. 13 f. Cf. Peake, in loc.

c. Isa. 48:16b-19 is considered by several scholars to be a later addition for the following reasons: (a) the tone of vss. 17-19, reflecting a spirit of depression, indicates a time when there was lack of faith in immediate deliverance; (b) these vss. also interrupt the natural connection between vss. 12-16a (= promise of deliverance) and vss. 20 f. (= song of triumph); and (c) vs. 16b ("and now the Lord, etc."), it is claimed, is disconnected with what precedes and follows. Note that vs. 17 begins with the regular prophetic formula of introduction.

Skinner also regards vs. 22, either as a gloss, or as an editorial insertion on the ground of its being alien to the context. He thinks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal.* i. pp. lxxxix ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CHB, *Hex.* i. 160. Gray, *Introd.* 47. Cornill, *Introd.* 118 f., 540. McNeile, *Ex.* in loc., etc. See further pp. 35 f., ii. b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.*, 205 f. Cf. Kent's view, p. 166, ii. m.



its right connection is found in Isa. 57:21. So also Whitehouse. Cf. on this chap. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

d. Other possible insertions in Isa. 40-48 = 41:15 f.; 42:24b; 44:9-20 (Cheyne); 48:1b, 2, 3b(?), 4, 5b, 7b, 8b-10, 11b. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

e. Isa. 14:4-21 and Isa. 47 are "taunt songs" in the meter characteristic of Hebrew elegy, *e.g.* Lamentations, cf. p. 181.

f. Isa. 40-48 are generally regarded as forming one leading section of the prophecy, in which the certainty of deliverance from Babylon is emphasized, — by showing Jehovah's favor and power; the coming of Cyrus and the impending downfall of their oppressor.

g. For discussion of the Servant passages, cf. below, n. k.

h. Chap. 50:10 f. are considered by some scholars to be a post-exilic addition relating to the persecution of true believers (cf. Isa. 57:15 and 66:2). It is claimed that neither the thought nor phraseology are like the other parts of this prophecy. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

i. Chap. 52:3-6, owing to the facts that (a) its form is prose, while the preceding vss. are poetry; also (b) that the subject changes suddenly in these vss., according to some scholars, shows that they are not the original sequel of vss. 1 f. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

j. Other vss. which may possibly be insertions in Isa. 49-55 = 51:11, 15 f.(?); 54:15(?); 55:7(?).

k. The Servant passages 42:1-4 (5-9); 49:1-6 (7-13); 50:4-9 (10 f.); and 52:13-53:12, — the vss. in parenthesis according to Cheyne are connecting links between the Servant passages proper and their context, — "present some of the most knotty problems of O. T. Introduction; almost everything is matter of controversy — date, authorship, relation to the rest of Isa. 40-55 . . . ; almost every possible view has been held on each of these points."<sup>1</sup> (a) The more common view is that they were written by the author of the rest of the prophecy; <sup>2</sup> (b) some hold that they are the work of a different exilic prophet and were incorporated by Deut.-Isa.; <sup>3</sup> (c) while according to others they originated after the Exile and were inserted by an editor.<sup>4</sup>

Cheyne formerly held that properly speaking the Servant poems must all at one time have been independent and separate from their present contexts, but on the ground of the fact that they have exerted such an influence on the sections following them, he con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cornill, *Introd.* 290 f. Gray, *Introd.* 187. Workman, *Servt. of Jeh.*; LOT, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bennett; Whitehouse, etc. See p. 194, ii. d. (b).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, xv f., 93; EBi, ii. 2205 f. (Cheyne); see also EBi, iii. 3801 (Duhm). See p. 256, ii. 2. b.

cluded that they could not very well have been inserted by any one but by the author of chaps. 40-55 himself. He considered them exilic and that possibly they might have been written by the author of the main prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, his more recent view of the Servant passages as later insertions.<sup>2</sup>

Kent, who assigns chaps. 40-55 along with 56-66 to the age preceding Nehemiah, attributes the Servant passages to the author of the prophecy (cf. Sermons, etc.).

l. Isa. 49-55 seem the natural sequel of chaps. 40-48 and may well be regarded as written by the same author. Cf. (a) the desolate condition of Judah (49:19; 51:3; 51:17-52:2); also (b) the promise of the return of the Exiles [49:22-26; 51:11; 52:11 f. (understood of Babylon); 55:12]; and (c) the facts of the preceding section are taken for granted, viz. Jehovah's supremacy; the doom of Babylon and the certainty of release for the captives. In this section, chaps. 49-55, emphasis is placed on the future of the Exiles, by exhorting them to prepare themselves to take advantage of their opportunity to return.

According to some authorities chaps. 49-55 were written by the same author somewhat later than chaps. 40-48, after Cyrus had given permission to the Exiles to return home.<sup>3 4</sup>

m. Jer. 10:11, which is in Aramaic, is generally considered a later addition to the section, as it interrupts the connection of thought. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The historical background to the closing period of the Exile, which is reflected in the prophetic literature given above on pages 195 f., may be briefly summarized as follows. Cyrus became king of Anshan, a small state in northwestern Elam, in 559 B.C. He gained possession of the Median kingdom in 549 B.C. by rebelling against Astyages, his overlord, whom he defeated and captured by the aid of the Median subjects in the army, who turned against Astyages. Then followed the consolidation of his acquired kingdom and the beginning of his brilliant career of conquest: Mesopotamia (547 B.C.); Lydia, whose king was Crœsus (546 B.C.); the Greek colonies on the Ægean coast (546 B.C.); barbarous hosts in the East (545 ff. B.C.); and Babylon in 538 B.C.

b. Many scholars assign Isa. 21:11-17 relating to Dumah (= Edom) and Arabian tribes to the same date as vss. 1-10. Vss. 16 f. in prose are considered by some recent scholars as a later addition. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* 307 f., 309, 277 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. refs. under n. 4, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. espec. Cornill, *Introd.* 290.

<sup>4</sup> For an excellent summary of the recent criticism of Isa. 40 ff., see LOT, 244 ff.

## IX. A. THE PERSIAN PERIOD. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

The history and literature relating to the Persian period are found in the historical works of Ezra and Nehemiah; cf. also 2 Chr. 36:22-23; the prophetic writings of Haggai, Zechariah, chaps. 1-8, Malachi, Isaiah 56-66 (?), Obadiah, Isaiah 34-35 (?), Joel and Isaiah 24-27 (?); poetical writings, — psalms and compilations of Psalms, and the book of Job; the final compilation of the Priestly Code (P) and the book of Ruth.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. HISTORICAL WRITINGS

The historical material of this period covers only a limited portion of it, and in order to form an adequate conception of the history of the Jews during a large part of this time much has to be derived and inferred from the prophetic and other writings.

Within the historical limits, for example, marked by Ezra-Nehemiah, viz. c. 537 B.C. (= the return under Sheshbazzar = Zerubbabel (?), cf. Ezra 1) and 432 B.C. (= the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem; cf. Neh. 13:6), while the historical facts related cover only about one tenth of this time, "it is possible with the aid of the prophetic and poetic literature of the period to form a tolerably clear and connected idea of the times."<sup>2</sup>

#### A. 2 Chr. 36:22-23; // Ezra 1:1-3.

It is to be noted that 2 Chr. 36:23 ends in the middle of a sentence — vs. 23b being parallel to Ezra 1:3a.

<sup>1</sup> Practically all these literary productions (including the main sources of Ezra-Neh.) had their origin in this period. See, however, on Psalter and P Code, pp. 224 ff.; 228; 232 f.; 195, iv. e.; 247 f.

For other literature possibly belonging to this period, cf. pp. 253, ii. 3; 255 f., ii. 2; 264 f., iv. 6, 10-13; 270, ii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, i. 821b, 824b (Batten).

*B. Ezra and Nehemiah.* As was previously noticed, Ezra and Nehemiah formed originally with First and Second Chronicles a single book (cf. p. 63), belonging to the second historical series of the Old Testament (see pp. 1 f.). The standpoint of the compiler of Ezra and Nehemiah accordingly is much like that of the Chronicler, viz. marked by special interest in the religious institutions and observances of the Jewish people.

Like the other historical books previously considered, Ezra and Nehemiah were derived from different sources. Of these (a) the most important are the personal Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (designated E and N respectively), which are characterized by the use of the first person, and which include Ezra 7:27-8:34; 9:1-15; 10(?); and Neh. 1:1-7:5; 7:6-73a(?); chaps. 11-13 in part.<sup>1</sup>

In addition (b) are the portions in Aramaic, viz. Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26, which may have been derived from some Aramaic historical work, with certain modifications and adaptations;<sup>2</sup> and possibly (c) official documents, also from a distinct source; e.g. such lists as Neh. 7:6-73; 11:3-36, etc.

Some authorities give more sources, others fewer. The personal Memoirs are commonly recognized. In reference to the others, "in some cases we must be content with probabilities and in others must confess ignorance."<sup>3</sup>

The material belonging to the compiler, whose style closely resembles the Chronicler (Ch.), comprises only a small proportion of the books. It is a question how far it is based on historical documents and how far on oral tradition.

The methods of the Chronicler, i.e. in reconstructing and recasting, as seen in 1-2 Chr. are not so marked in Ezra-Nehemiah. It is the view, however, of some scholars that Ezra's Memoirs either belong to Ch. or have been recast by him. Cf. below, (b).

<sup>1</sup> For characteristics of the style of the Memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah, and a comparison of the two sections, cf. Ryle, *Ezra*, etc., xviii f. LOT, 553.

<sup>2</sup> While this is the view generally held by modern scholars of these Aramaic sections, cf. a more conservative position in reference to their integrity in Davies, *Ezra*, etc., 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. HDB, i. 822 a (Batten).

In reference to the dates of Ezra-Nehemiah the following facts may be noted. (a) The Memoirs of Nehemiah are commonly recognized as a first-hand source of the greatest historical worth, belonging to his times, 445-432 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (b) The Memoirs of Ezra have usually been considered of equal value with those of Nehemiah, dating from his day, 458 ff. B.C., though a number of scholars regard them as of later date and secondary worth.

The Memoirs of Ezra have in recent years been subjected to severe criticism. Some scholars (*e.g.* Torrey) consider them entirely the work of Ch., on account of similarity of style. Others (*e.g.* Kent) think they were possibly drawn by Ch. in part at least from an existing Midrash. Contra, it is maintained: (a) that the similarity of style may be due either to the common standpoint of Ezra and Ch. (*i.e.* priestly), or to the action of Ch. in conforming the language of E to his own, as he incorporated the Memoirs, — their viewpoint being so much alike; and (b) the argument from probability, viz. "the writer who so faithfully transcribed the memoirs of Nehemiah" would not likely have "invented so vivid, coherent and circumstantial a narrative for Ezra in the first person."

(c) The Aramaic sections, in their original form, may reasonably be assigned to a date relatively near to the events described by them; according to good authorities, c. 450 B.C. The sources are thus of the greatest historical value.

On account of the Ch. influence in the Aramaic sections, some scholars (*e.g.* Moore) have assigned them to the latter part of the Persian or beginning of the Greek periods, *i.e.* before or after c. 332 B.C. On the other hand, it is maintained that in these sections the Jewish coloring may be due to the fact that Ezra and other Jews formulated the letters and edicts, which were accepted by the king.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the compilation, however, belongs undoubtedly long after the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (= 458-432 B.C.), as the following facts go to prove: (a) use of the expression

<sup>1</sup> From Neh. 5:14 some (*e.g.* Cornill, *Introd.* 245) have inferred that the Memoirs may have been compiled considerably later than 432 B.C. The view commonly held is that their date is practically as given above. Cf. 430-425 B.C. for both the Memoirs, Ezra and Neh.; Gray, *Introd.* 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2083 f. (Moore). See contra, McFadyen, *Introd.* 344 f. Note also LOT, 548 f.

"king of Persia" (Ezra 1:1 f., 8; 3:7; 4:3, 5, etc.), which would have been an unnecessary addition on the part of a contemporary writer, or of a writer at any time in the Persian period. It is also contrary to the usage of the times, as the Persian kings styled themselves as "king of Babylon," "the great king," etc.<sup>1</sup> (b) In the list given in Neh. 12, Jaddua is mentioned (vss. 10 f.) as belonging three generations after Eliashib, who was a contemporary of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. 13:4, 28). It is known that Jaddua was High Priest 351-331 B.C.<sup>2</sup> And (c) the mention in Neh. 12:22 of "Darius the Persian," which from the context, it is clear, refers to Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, 336(335)-331 B.C. These facts point to the years after the close of the Persian period, and this conclusion harmonizes with the spirit and standpoint of the compiler, which are the same as those of the editor of Chronicles.

In addition to (a) above, cf. the fact that in the Memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah, which belong to the Persian period, Ezra and Nehemiah, speaking personally, refer naturally to the Persian monarch as "the king" simply (e.g. Ezra 7:27 f.; 8:1, 22, 25, 36, etc., Neh. 1:11, etc.). Note also in the Aramaic document the same usage (e.g. Ezra 4:8, 11, etc.; 5:6 f., etc.).

In Neh. 12:22, the title "the Persian" also indicates a date subsequent to the Persian period.

Among other data which may be referred to for the date of the compilation of Ezra-Nehemiah are: (d) the use of the phrase "the days of Nehemiah" (Neh. 12:26, 47), from which the natural inference is, that the time of writing must have been when Nehemiah's age was looked upon as some distance in the past; (e) the fact that the period of over fifty years between Ezra 6 and 7 is covered by the expression "after these things" (7:1), can be more naturally explained as the phrase of a later compiler than as the wording of Ezra or a contemporary; and (f) the position of Ezra 4:6-23, which scholars generally consider to be chronologically misplaced, can be more easily accounted for in the same way as the work of a later editor.

That the compiler of Ezra-Nehemiah belongs to the same school of thought as the Chronicler (Ch.) (who possibly are to be identified) is shown by: (a) the interest manifested in statistics and genealogy as in Chronicles (e.g. Ezra 1:9-11; 7:1-6;

<sup>1</sup> See espec. LOT, 546, n.\* and 554 = additional n. to p. 546.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Josephus, Ant. xi. 8, §§ 4, 7.

8:1-14; Neh. 3; 7:6-73, etc.); (b) the detail with which religious services and observances are described as in Chronicles (*e.g.* Ezra 3:1-7, 8-13; Neh. 7:73-8:12, etc.); (c) the special prominence given the Levites and other Temple attendants, as singers, Nethinim, etc., as in Chronicles; *e.g.* Levites, over 60 times (Ezra 2:40, 70; 3:8, 12, etc. cf. about 100 times in Chr.); only twice mentioned in Sam. (1 S. 6:15; 2 S. 15:24), and once in Kings (1 Ki. 8:4); singers frequently (Ezra 2:41, 65, 70, etc.); also Nethinim (Ezra 2:43, 58, 70, etc.), a term found outside of Ezra-Neh. only in 1 Chr. 9:2; and (d) likeness of style, *e.g.* "fathers' houses" (Ezra 2:59; 10:16, etc., cf. more than 20 times in Chr.); "heads of fathers' houses" (Ezra 1:5; 2:68, etc., cf. more than 20 times in Chr.); "house of God" (Ezra 1:4; 2:68, etc., cf. more than 30 times in Chr.), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The same date as that to which the compilation of Chronicles is assigned may accordingly be given to that of Ezra-Nehemiah, viz. 300-250 B.C.<sup>2 3</sup>

## 2. PROPHETICAL WRITINGS

*A. Haggai.* This short prophecy consists of the substance of four addresses delivered by Haggai to the Jews in Jerusalem in the early part of the Persian period. It is characterized by a feature not found hitherto in this class of writings, viz. careful chronological arrangement and exact dating.

An exception among previous prophetic writings, however, is to be noticed, viz. Ezekiel, though in that book the chronological

<sup>1</sup> For the view of different standpoints in the compilation of Chr. and Ezra-Neh. and hence the work of different redactors, cf. Davies, *Ezra*, etc., 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the view that Ezra-Neh. as a whole dates probably shortly before 400 B.C., with some additions at a later time, cf. Davies, *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Ezra-Nehemiah, LOT, 540 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 117 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 332 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 240 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 121 ff., 245 f. Gray, *Introd.* 97 ff. Moore, LOT, 126 ff. HDB, i. 821 ff. (Batten). EBi, ii. 1478 ff. (Kosters and Cheyne); 2083 f., 2085 (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Ezra-Neh.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Batten); *Camb. B.* (Ryle); *Expos. B.* (Adeney); *Cen. B.* (Davies). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 109 f. Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, etc., 537 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 345 ff., 382 ff., cf. 419 ff., 422 f. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 8, 29 ff., 339 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 101 ff. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 182 f. McFadyen, *Hists.* 314 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 10 f., 15. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 213 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 209, 242 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 290 ff., 306, etc.

arrangement is not carried out in the detailed manner in which it appears in Haggai.

It seems probable that this prophecy was committed to writing soon after Haggai had given his messages, either by the prophet himself or by a contemporary.

This prophecy is dated from the accession of Darius I (= Hystaspis), 522(521)–486(485) B.C. (cf. Hag. 1:1, etc.). The divisions of the prophecy with the corresponding dates are as follows:—

- a. Chap. 1 = Aug.-Sept. 520 B.C. (cf. vss. 1 and 15).
- b. Chap. 2:1–9 = Sept.-Oct. 520 B.C. (cf. vs. 1).
- c. Chap. 2:10–19 = Nov.-Dec. 520 B.C. (cf. vs. 10).
- d. Chap. 2:20–23 = the same date (cf. vs. 20).

The months indicated in this prophecy (cf. Hag. 1:1, etc.) are reckoned from the spring, as during the Exile the year was changed from the pre-exilic custom of beginning in the autumn, to the spring (March-April). This change was probably brought about by Babylonian influence. From the time of the Exile also the Babylonian names of months are frequently found in the Biblical writings, *e.g.* 1st Nisan = March-April (cf. Neh. 2:1); 2nd Iyyar = April-May (not in O. Test.); 3rd Sivan = May-June (Esth. 8:9); 4th Tammuz = June-July (not in O. Test.); 5th Ab = July-August (not in O. Test.); 6th Elul = Aug.-Sept. (cf. Neh. 6:15); 7th Tishri = Sept.-Oct. (not in O. Test.); 8th Marchesvan = Oct.-Nov. (not in O. Test.); 9th Kislev (Chisleu or Chisleu) = Nov.-Dec. (cf. Zech. 7:1; Neh. 1:1); 10th Tebeth = Dec.-Jan. (cf. Esth. 2:16); 11th Shebat = Jan.-Feb. (Zech. 1:7); 12th Adar = Feb.-March (cf. Ezra 6:15 and frequently in Esther).<sup>1 2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, iv. 762 ff. (Abrahams). EBi, iii. 3192 ff.; iv. 5366 (Marti), etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Haggai, LOT, 343 f. Bennett, Introd. 254 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 103 f., 196. McFadyen, Introd. 219 ff. Cornill, Introd. 358 ff. Gray, Introd. 226 f. Moore, LOT, 207 f. HDB, ii. 279 ff. (Cooke). EBi, ii. 1935 ff. (W. R. Smith and Cheyne). Intros. in Comms. on Haggai, espec. Int. Crit. (Mitchell); Expos. B. = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); Camb. B. (Perowne); Cen. B., vol. 2 (Driver); Bible Handbooks (Dods). Bennett, Primer, etc., 79 f. Kent, Sermons, etc., 26 f., 323 ff. Hunter, After Exile, i. 133 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 349 ff., 353 f. Kent, Jew. People, 139 f., 141 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 30, 469, 496 ff. Sanders, etc., Prophs. ii. 204 ff. Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 413 ff., 421 ff. Farrar, Minor Prophs. 185 ff. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 149 ff. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, 8 ff. Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. 65 ff., 75 ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 233, 235 f. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 278 f.



*B. Zechariah, Chaps. 1-8.* The prophecy of Zechariah (chaps. 1-8), who was a contemporary of Haggai (cf. Ezra 5:1 and 6:14), is also characterized by precise chronological headings. The first person is used largely throughout these chapters, which consist mostly of descriptions of a series of visions. It is not unlikely that they were committed to writing soon after the latest portion recorded was uttered.

The divisions and dates of the prophecy are as follows:—

a. Chap. 1:1-6 = Oct.-Nov. 520 B.C. (cf. vs. 1); *i.e.* between Hag. 2:1-9 and Hag. 2:10-19 (cf. p. 252, ii. 1).

b. Chaps. 1:7-6:15 = largely visions. Jan.-Feb. 519 B.C. (cf. 1:7).

c. Chaps. 7-8. Nov.-Dec. 518 B.C. (cf. 7:1).<sup>1</sup>

*C. Malachi.* This prophecy, though bearing the name of Malachi, is probably to be considered an anonymous production. Unlike the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, it is marked by absence of chronological headings of any kind, and the date, so far as it is possible to determine it definitely, is based upon internal evidence.

The following are some of the reasons for considering the prophecy of Malachi anonymous: (a) the peculiar words of the title (1:1), "The burden" (or "oracle") "of the word of Jehovah, etc.," a form which is found elsewhere only in Zech. 9:1 and 12:1, both headings of anonymous writings immediately preceding Malachi; (b) the inference from the LXX heading (= "Oracle of the word of the Lord by the hand of his messenger") that it was not considered a proper name when that translation was made; and (c) the same inference also from the Targum of Jonathan [= "by the hand of Malachi" (or "my messenger") "whose name is called Ezra the scribe"]. This explanation has been given, viz. that the prophecy being originally anonymous received in time the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Zechariah 1-8, LOT, 344 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 256 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 104, 196. McFadyen, *Introd.* 222 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 361 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 227 ff. Moore, LOT, 208 ff. HDB, iv. 967 ff. (Nowack). EBi, iv. 5391 ff. (Wellhausen). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Zech.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Mitchell); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B.* (Perowne); *Cen. B.*, vol. 2 (Driver); *Bible Handbooks* (Dods). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 80 ff. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 26 ff., 326 ff. Hunter, *After Exile*, i. 145 ff., 152 ff., 187 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 354 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 139, 142, 144 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 30, 469, 496 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 204 ff., 209, 212 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 413 ff., 423 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 196 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 152 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 8 ff. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 65 ff., 78 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 233 ff., 236 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 278 ff.

same title as Zech. 9:1 and 12:1, and subsequently the word "Malachi" (= Hebr. for "my messenger") was inserted, being borrowed from the text (cf. 3:1; also 2:7 and Hag. 1:13).

The following are the facts from which the date is inferred: (a) the Jewish community is under a Persian viceroy (1:8; cf. Hag. 1:1; Neh. 5:14; 12:26); (b) the Temple is completed (3:10; cf. 1:10; 3:1), but so long previously that the first enthusiasm has been followed by carelessness and worldliness (1:6 ff.); and (c) the power which exercises authority over them is evidently not tyrannical, as may be inferred from the favorable attitude toward outside nations in the prophecy (cf. 1:11). The reign of Artaxerxes (Longimanus), 465(464)–425(424) B.C., during which the Jews were specially favored, harmonizes with these facts.

In addition (d) the social conditions reflected in the prophecy also point to this time: *e.g.* marriages with the heathen and half-heathen women of the land are common (2:10–16, cf. Ezra 9:2; 10:3, 16–44; Neh. 10:30; 13:23 ff.); remissness in paying the Temple tax (3:7–12, cf. Neh. 10:32–39; 13:4–14), etc., *i.e.* abuses with which Ezra and Nehemiah had to deal.

According to some authorities, however, Mal. 2:10–16 does not refer to the question of divorce, but to the idolatry of the people, under the figure of violating the marriage bond.<sup>1</sup>

The conquest of Edom implied in 1:2–5 is referred by a number of scholars to the subjugation of that country by the Arabs (Nabateans), during the Exile or subsequently. This would harmonize with the date of the prophecy in the 4th century B.C. Cf. further on this event, pp. 212 f.

Difference of opinion exists as to whether the prophecy belongs (a) before the coming of Ezra, 458 B.C. (Ezra 7:7);<sup>2</sup> or (b) before the mission of Nehemiah, 445 B.C. (Neh. 1:1; 2:1);<sup>3</sup> or (c) shortly before or shortly after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C. (Neh. 13:6).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 361, n. 2. EBi, iii. 2908 f. (Torrey). Moore, LOT, 214.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. A. Smith. Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. HDB, iii. 219a (Welch). Cornill, Introd. Kautzsch, LOT. Gray, Introd., etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, Sermons, etc. J. M. P. Smith, Mal. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist.

<sup>4</sup> Driver, LOT, but cf. his Mal. (Cen. B.) = contemporary of Ezra-Nehemiah. Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. Cf. Torrey's view = 1st half of the 4th cen. B.C. (EBi, iii. 2909 f.).

A date just before 458 B.C., *i.e.* c. 460 B.C. is on the whole the one which seems most probable.

Some of the reasons which seem more favorable to the view that the prophecy should be placed before 458 B.C. are: (a) the absence of any reference in the prophecy to the reforming work of Ezra and Nehemiah, and of any indication of joy which must have been awakened in the Jewish community by the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in 445 B.C. by Nehemiah (cf. Neh. chaps. 3-6); (b) the custom of bringing a gift to the Persian governor (1:8) cannot well refer to Nehemiah (cf. his statement, Neh. 5:14-18); and (c) the reference to the Jews divorcing their wives in order to marry the heathen women of the land (2:10 ff.) seems to point to the beginning of this practice, rather than to Ezra's time when he found it a settled custom (cf. Ezra 9 f.). While the opinion of scholars differs as to the conclusion to be drawn from (d) the legal allusions in the prophecy, the more common view is that the affiliation in general is with the earlier Codes, especially Deuteronomy, rather than with the Priestly, *e.g.* the priesthood as sons of Levi (Mal. 2:4, 8; 3:3, cf. Deut. 33:8 and the expression "the priests the Levites" common in Deut.); and the custom of consulting the priesthood for oral decisions (Mal. 2:7; cf. Deut. 17:9, etc.; also the usage recognized in the time of Haggai-Zechariah, cf. Hag. 2:11; Zech. 7:3). Cf. also Mal. 1:8a with Deut. 15:21, etc. If Deut. is the recognized legal code, this would favor a time at least before 445 B.C., the date of the promulgation of the Priestly Code. Cf. further, p. 245.<sup>12</sup>

*D. Trito-Isaiah = Isaiah 56-66.* While the great majority of scholars to-day are agreed in assigning at least chaps. 40-55 of Isaiah to the closing years of the Exile, there is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for a different view of the bearing of the resemblances to Deut. upon the date of Malachi, EBi, iii. 2909 f. (W. R. Smith and Torrey).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Malachi, LOT, 355 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 264 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 105 f., 196. McFadyen, *Introd.* 234 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 372 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 231 f. Moore, LOT, 212 ff. HDB, iii. 218 ff. (Welch). EBi, iii. 2907 ff. (W. R. Smith and Torrey). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Malachi*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (J. M. P. Smith); *Expos. B. = Bk. of XII*, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B. (Perowne)*; *Cen. B.*, vol. 2 (Driver); *Bible Handbooks* (Dods). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 81. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 29 f., 402 ff. Hunter, *After Exile*, ii. 247 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 360. Kent, *Jew. People*, 111 f., 162 f. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 31, 472, cf. 496 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 237 ff., 240 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 494 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 223 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 155 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 19 f. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 88 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 244, 247 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 287 ff.

much divergence of opinion among them in reference to the remaining chapters of that book (chaps. 56-66), to which the title "Trito-Isaiah" has been given by Duham. It has been the view of modern scholars until recent years that this section belonged to the same author and occasion as chaps. 40-55, and that opinion is still maintained by good authorities.

Cf. Driver, who refers to Isa. 40-66 as forming "a continuous prophecy."<sup>1</sup> This position is also assumed by Davidson.<sup>2</sup> Note, however, his latest view on the subject, viz. "chaps. lvi-lxvi . . . may presuppose a people settled in Judæa, in other words, a people partially returned from Exile."<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, among those holding the position of the general unity of chaps. 40-66, it has been the conclusion of a number that certain parts of chaps. 56-66, interrupting the connection of thought, originated in pre-exilic times, or at least were a recollection of them.

Cf. Driver, according to whom 56 : 9-57 : 11a and 59 : 3-15 belong to the age of Jeremiah; also G. A. Smith, who formerly assigned 56 : 9-chap. 57 to a time between Isaiah's death and the Exile.<sup>4</sup>

Recently, however, the theory has been advanced, which has been accepted by many scholars, that Isaiah chaps. 56-66 belong to post-exilic times. The following are some of the reasons cited for this conclusion :<sup>5</sup> (a) the existence of the Temple is apparently presupposed (*e.g.* 56 : 7 ; 60 : 7 ; 62 : 9, and especially 65 : 11 and 66 : 6), which points to a date after 516 (515) B.C., when it was rebuilt (*cf.* Ezra 6 : 15 f.). (b) The fact that more prominence is given to the sacrificial system (*e.g.* 56 : 7 ; 60 : 7 ; 62 : 9 ; 66 : 20), to the priesthood (*e.g.* 66 : 21, *cf.* 61 : 6), and to religious institutions and ceremony (*e.g.* Sabbath, 56 : 2, 6 ; 58 : 13 f. ; 66 : 23 ; *cf.* Neh. 10 : 31 ; 13 : 15 ff. ; *cf.* also continuous worship, 58 : 2 and 62 : 6) than in Isa. 40-55 favors the post-exilic period. (c) In keeping with this chronological inference

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Davidson, O. T. Prophec. chap. xv (pp. 242 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Davidson, Isa. (TB), xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LOT, 244. Driver, Isa. Life and Times, 187 ff. G. A. Smith, Isa. ii. 18 f., 408 f., 423 f.

<sup>5</sup> The statement of reasons here presented is based closely upon the excellent summary found in Skinner, Isa. ii. pp. lvi ff.

is the reference to a partial restoration of the exiled Israelites, with the promise that still others are to be brought back (cf. especially 56:8; also 60:4, 8 and 66:20, which, from this standpoint of interpretation, refer to those Exiles who are as yet unrestored). And (*d*) the social conditions reflected in these chapters harmonize with those which are known to have existed after the Exile; *e.g.* the "oppression of the poor by the rich or of slaves by their masters" (cf. 58:3-6, 9; 59:3 f., 13 ff. with Neh. 5 and Mal. 3:5); the leaders of the community described as greedy, worthless, self-indulgent, etc., a situation answering to what is known of the worldly-minded priests and others, who sought their selfish advantage in marriage alliances with the surrounding half-heathen peoples in the time of Ezra-Nehemiah (cf. 56:10-12 with Ezra 9:1 ff.; Neh. 13:4, 28); and indications of two parties, — one strict and zealous for Jehovah, the other indifferent to all religious matters, a condition which existed in the first century after the Restoration (cf. 57:1, 15, 20; 59:4-8, 18; 65:8, 13 ff.; 66:5 with Mal. 3:5, 15-18).

In addition to (*b*) above, note the interest in fasting, 58:1 ff., cf. Zech. 7:1 ff.; 8:18 f.

Besides the mention of the unworthy priests, see under (*d*) above, cf. the mercenary prophets described in Neh. 6:10-14.

The social conditions [cf. above (*d*)] may as well indicate the pre-exilic period, and they have been used as arguments in favor of that date for the different sections in which they are found, but they are equally appropriate to the conditions of post-exilic times as shown in the references above.

In addition to the above, two other lines of argument are to be considered, viz. (*e*) frequent allusions are made to idolatrous practices indulged in by those who in a way are connected with the Jews and yet are their most bitter opponents (*e.g.* 57:3-13; 65:1-7; 66:3 f., 17; cf. 66:5 with 57:4; cf. also 57:12 = regarding themselves as righteous, with 57:8 = their unfaithfulness to Jehovah, and 65:11 = their forgetfulness of Mount Zion). These references, it is maintained, could hardly be to pure heathen but most naturally describe the Samaritans (or "those circles out of which later sprang the Samaritan community"), who were

connected with the worship of Jehovah (2 Ki. 17 : 33), but who after the Return did all in their power to weaken the Jews, from the time that their overtures were rejected (cf. Ezra 4 : 1 ff., etc.).<sup>1</sup> And (f) the evident perplexity caused by the delay of the promised restoration of Israel's fortunes, and the explanation that it was on account of the moral condition of the people (cf. 59 : 1-15 with a similar feeling in Zech. 1 : 12 ff. ; chap. 8 ; Hag. 2 : 6 ff. ; also Mal. 2 : 17 ff. ; 3 : 1 ff., 13 ff.), indicate the same period.

Further, it is claimed (g) that these chapters are marked by difference of style from chaps. 40-55 ;<sup>2</sup> also (h) in the connection of thought, — chaps. 40 ff. being well-ordered and connected, while 56 ff. are more broken in their arrangement, the sections being more detached.

Though some of the sections in this portion of prophecy seem to harmonize well with an exilic date (*e.g.* chaps. 58, 60, 61-62), *i.e.* parallel to chaps. 40-55, on the whole the view that it belongs to post-exilic times, and, more particularly, that it reflects conditions similar to those in Malachi, has much to commend it, in consideration of the facts cited above. Difference of opinion exists as to whether it belongs in whole or in part before or after the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah, and variant views are held in reference to the question of unity of authorship of these chapters. While, therefore, the exact time to which this section of prophecy belongs cannot with certainty be established, a date within the years 460-445 seems in view of all the facts a reasonably probable one.<sup>3 4</sup>

The view of Kent is to be noted, who holds that the whole section, chaps. 40-66, comes from the same author, of which chaps. 56-59 and 63-66 belong shortly before the time of Nehemiah and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the statement in Moore, LOT, 159 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wade, Isa. lxxi f. Whitehouse, Isa. vol. 2, pp. 235 f., etc.

<sup>3</sup> In favor of dating this section of prophecy prior to Nehemiah = 445 B.C. are the references to the walls of Jerusalem as still unrestored (60 : 10, cf. 58 : 12). See Neh. 2-4.

<sup>4</sup> This is the view of Cornill, *Introd.* Skinner, Isa. Whitehouse, Isa. McFadyen, *Introd.* Gray, *Introd.* Wade, Isa. (= in the first half, perhaps in 2nd quarter of the 5th cen. B.C.). Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* (= 470-420 B.C.). Cheyne (= age of Ezra-Neh., cf. his *Jew. Relig. Life*). Cf. HDB, ii. 493 ff., 497b (G. A. Smith), etc. See summary in LOT, 244 ff. Wade, Isa. lxxiii, etc.

remainder of the prophecy somewhat earlier. See further on Kent's views at the end of n. <sup>2</sup> below.

The section 63:7-64:12 is considered by many scholars an insertion in the prophecy, either of earlier or later date than the rest of the chaps. Cf. pp. 253, ii. d. (c); 260, v. a.; 270, ii. 4. a.<sup>1 2</sup>

*E. Obadiah.* This prophecy, which is the shortest O. T. book, contains no chronological heading, and the problem of determining its date is a very complicated one.

One of the most definite historical references in the prophecy is to the treacherous conduct of the Edomites, who, when some foreign power gained possession of Jerusalem, rejoiced in its disaster; taking part also in the plunder of the city (vs. 13) and cutting off the escape of fugitives (vs. 14). The circumstances described here seem to answer best to the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 25:3 ff.), and this view is now quite generally accepted by scholars.

Another implied fact, according to many authorities, is the dispossession of Edom by some hostile power, which previously was confederate with it (vss. 5-7). It is known that by 312 B.C. the Nabateans had gained possession of Edom's territory (cf. Diodorus Siculus, xix. 94), but it is thought by many that as early as the Exile the process of dispossessing may have begun, as the Edomites, it is known, had already at that time encroached upon Judea (cf. Ezek. 35:10, 12; 36:5). The inference is that this invasion of Judea was occasioned by the fact that they were being

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, Sermons, etc., 27 ff., 336 ff., 381 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Isaiah 56-66, LOT, 244 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 193 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 98 f., 196. McFadyen, *Introd.* 135 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 289 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 185 ff. Moore, LOT, 159 ff. HDB, ii. 493 ff., 497b (G. A. Smith); extra vol. 709a (Kautzsch). EBI, ii. 2206 f. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Isa. 40 ff., espec. West. C. (Wade); Camb. B., vol. 2 (Skinner); Cen. B., vol. 2 (Whitehouse); SBOT, 99 ff., 190 ff. (Cheyne). Cheyne, *Introd.* Isa. xxxi ff., 310 ff. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 76. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 252 ff., 265 ff., 272 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 302 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 27-29, 45, 92 ff., etc. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 103 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 112 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 22. Davidson, Isa. (TB), xvii. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 243 f., 224 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 280 ff.

Note that some recent scholars (e.g. H. P. Smith and Kent) place Isa. 40-55 as well as chaps. 56-66 in this post-exilic period. Kent holds that chaps. 56-66 (in the main) were written somewhat later than the preceding section, but prior to 445 B.C. Cf. Kent, Sermons, etc., 27 ff., 381 ff., etc. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 370 ff.

pressed by foes in their own territory. This conclusion together with the vividness of the description of Edom's treacherous conduct (vss. 10-14) are strong grounds for an exilic date of the prophecy, to which it, in large part, is assigned still by a number of scholars [*e.g.* Driver, G. A. Smith, Bennett (= his *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 86 f.), etc.].

The problem of dating, however, is complicated by the question of the unity of the contents, and this in turn is bound up in the relation of this prophecy to other prophetic writings. Thus, the first part of Obadiah and a portion of Jeremiah 49 are closely parallel, which has been variously explained as a borrowing of the former from the latter, or by the latter from the former, or by both from an earlier writing. Cf. explanations of the parallel sections Isa. 2:2-4 and Micah 4:1-3. See p. 144, iii. *d.*

Note the parallelism of Obad. vss. 1-4 with Jer. 49:14-16; of vss. 5 f. with Jer. 49:9-10a; of vs. 8 with Jer. 49:7; of vs. 9a with Jer. 49:22b.

It is the opinion of a great majority of scholars that the Obadiah section represents the more original (logical) form of the material common to the two writings.<sup>1</sup> From this different conclusions have been drawn:—

*a.* Many of those dating the prophecy as a whole in the Exile, and some of those who consider it post-exilic (*e.g.* Selbie, Kautzsch, Cornill, etc.),<sup>2</sup> favor taking vss. 1-9 (or 10) (cf. vss. 1-6 = G. A. Smith) as an independent, pre-exilic prophecy borrowed in both Jeremiah and Obadiah, for the following reasons:—

(*a*) The section Jer. 46-49 is dated in 604 B.C. (cf. 46:2). Obad. vss. 10-14 imply the destruction of Jerusalem 586 B.C., and, as noticed above, the majority of critics consider that the material common to the prophecies is found in its more original form in Obadiah. On the basis of these data neither prophet could have borrowed from the other, but the material common to both must have existed independent of them prior to the Exile; (*b*) in Obad. 1-9 there are no references to the specific circumstances of the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.; and (*c*) the difference in point

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the view of Bewer, Obad. (*Int. Crit.*), 3, 33 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, iii. 578 f. (Selbie). Kautzsch, LOT, 133. Cornill, *Introd.* 335 f.



of view, which, it is claimed, exists between the two sections of Obadiah; viz. while both agree in the fact that Edom is to be punished, in vss. 1-9 it is to be accomplished by the nations (vs. 1), which are Jehovah's instruments, and by treacherous allies (vs. 7); whereas in vss. 10 ff., Edom is to fall with other heathen nations in the day of Jehovah's universal judgment upon them (vss. 15 ff.).

b. Recent criticism, however, favors dating Obadiah in post-exilic times. Compare the similar attitude toward the Edomites in Malachi (1:1 ff.), c. 460 B.C., and Isa. 34 f., c. 450-400 B.C. The chronological problem involved in Jer. 46:2 [cf. above *a* (*a*)] is explained by the theory that the material of Jer. 49 as a whole, or at least in the verses found also in Obadiah, is much later than 604 B.C., and hence could have been borrowed easily from the post-exilic Obadiah.

With this theory of date there is found another view of the logical divisions of the prophecy from that noticed above. Wellhausen's suggestion has met with much favor by recent scholars that there is a two-fold division of the Biblical material, viz. vss. 1-14 + 15*b*, the theme of which is disaster upon Edom, and vss. 15*a* + 16-21, whose subject is *universal* judgment, of which that on Edom is a part, followed by restoration of the Jewish exiles.<sup>1</sup> But in reference to the composition of these sections and their relation to each other there is considerable diversity of view.

According to Kent, whose analysis differs in some details from that given above, Obadiah is the author of both sections, the whole dating between 500-445 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Bewer, who holds that "the more original text of the common material is found in the Jeremiah section," thinks that Obadiah wrote in the latter part of the 5th cen. B.C., quoting from an older (pre-exilic) prophecy in vss. 1-4, 8-9 with comments by himself in part in vss. 5-7 to which he added vss. 10-14 + 15*b*. To this a double appendix = 15*a* + 16-18 and 19-21 (possibly both from the same author) was attached in the age of Nehemiah or soon after by a different prophet.<sup>3</sup>

Others take the first section vss. 1-14 + 15*b* (in the main) as post-exilic (1st half of the 5th cen.) and the rest at some undetermined later period.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are certain variations in this analysis as given by different recent authorities, but there is substantial agreement in the main.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 399.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bewer, *Obad.* 3 f., 8 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cornill, *Introd.* 336. McFadyen, *Introd.* 194 f.

Cheyne dates at least vss. 15–21 as late as c. 350 B.C. possibly, on the basis largely of identifying Sepharad (vs. 20) with Sapardâ (or Çparda), a district, it is claimed, first held by Cyrus, c. 550 ff. B.C., whither he thinks there may have been a deportation of Jews in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be noted further that some scholars are of the opinion that Joel quotes from Obadiah in its present form. If this view is correct, it determines the completion of Obadiah before 400–360 B.C. (= the date assigned to Joel).

Cf. Obad. vs. 10 with Joel 3:19; vs. 11 with 3:3, etc.; vs. 15 with 3:14, 1:15; vs. 17 with 2:32, 3:17. Notice especially vs. 17 quoted in Joel 2:32 with the phrase “as Jehovah hath said.” This “makes it almost certain that he used Obadiah.”<sup>2</sup>

The dating of the prophecy in the main in the 5th century B.C. is a significant point of agreement among these recent students of the problems of the book, and to this period it may tentatively be assigned after Malachi and before Joel, between 450 and 400 B.C. The vivid character of the description in vss. 10–14 may be explained as due to the fact that it was an experience, the memory of which would naturally be kept fresh by constant recounting.<sup>3</sup> The questions of borrowing from an earlier prophecy and of later additions are minor problems, in reference to which there exists at present considerable difference of view, as indicated in the survey given above.<sup>4</sup>

*F. Isaiah, chaps. 34–35.*<sup>5</sup> The date of these chapters, so far as it can be determined, is derived from the following facts: (a) the intense hostility expressed towards Edom

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 311 f. EBi, iii. 3458 f. (Cheyne).

<sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> Cf. Bower, *Obad.*, 8 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Obadiah, LOT, 318 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 243 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 133. McFadyen, *Introd.* 193 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 334 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 213 ff. Moore, LOT, 198. HDB, iii. 577 ff. (Selbie). EBi, iii. 3455 ff. (Cheyne). *Intros.* in *Comms. on Obad.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Bower); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.*, vol. 1 (Horton). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 47. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 399 ff. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 86 f. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 33 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 175 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 67 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 310 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 165. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 28 f. Kent, *Jew. People*, 10 f., 26. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 243 f., 246 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 250.

<sup>5</sup> It is generally allowed among scholars that Isa. 34 and 35 belong together, having the same date and author. For a different view, cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. p. 418, n. 3 (§ 1404). See also p. 266, v. c.

(34: 5 ff.), which points to an age as late at least as the Exile. At that time the vindictiveness of the Jews was especially aroused by the attitude of the Edomites towards them, in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (cf. Ezek. 25: 12 ff.; 35: 1 ff., note vss. 5, 10 ff., cf. Ps. 137: 7; and especially Obad. vss. 10-14).<sup>1</sup> (b) The promise and picture of the restoration of the Jewish exiles (chap. 34) presuppose a time subsequent to 586 B.C. And (c) the literary features of the chapters resemble not the authentic prophecies of Isaiah, but such late writings as Isa. 13 f.; 40-55; 56-66 (cf. also similarity of ideas).

Cf. the resemblance between Isa. 34: 2-4 and Isa. 13: 5, 9-13; also between 34: 11-15, 17 and 13: 19-22; also 34 in general and Isa. 63: 1-6; between 35: 3-5 and 40: 1 f., 9; 42: 7, 16; between 35: 6 f. and 43: 19 f.; 48: 21; 49: 10 f., etc.; between 35: 10 and 51: 3, 10 f.; 61: 7; 62: 12.

On the basis of such data many scholars assign these chapters to the closing years of the Exile, a conclusion which has much to favor it. On the other hand (a) the fact that these chapters are based upon late exilic and even post-exilic writings (cf. above), it is claimed, requires a date later than the Exile. With this harmonizes (b) the further fact that in this period also the Edomites were regarded with hostility (cf. Mal. 1: 2-5; and Isa. 63: 1-6).

While it is exceedingly difficult to decide between the two periods, the preference is given in this volume to the later one. It seems, however, impossible to determine the exact post-exilic, historical setting of these chapters. Quite possibly it is subsequent to Malachi. A tentative date may be assumed, c. 450-400 B.C., but with the recognition that it may be earlier, or later.

Some scholars find a further confirmation of the post-exilic origin of these prophetic messages in (c) the alleged appeal to prophecy as Scripture (34: 16; cf. Dan. 9: 2), which would naturally point to a late date. This interpretation, however, is not certain.

From the standpoint of the post-exilic times the return predicted in chap. 35 is that of the Jews who were still in dispersion. It is

<sup>1</sup> While Obadiah is dated in this vol. as a post-exilic prophecy, vss. 10-14 are regarded by practically all scholars as referring to the conduct of the Edomites when Jerusalem was destroyed in 586 B.C. Cf. p. 192, iv. c.

also claimed that the indications of the chapters imply that the home of the writer was in Palestine, not in Exile.<sup>1</sup>

*G. Joel.* This prophecy has no chronological heading and its date accordingly must be determined by the allusions which it contains. The following are some of the more important data: (a) the leaders mentioned are the elders and priests (1:9, 13 f.; 2:16 f.), no reference being made to king or princes; (b) neither Syria, Assyria nor Babylonia (Chaldea), which in succession were prominent in prophetic literature from the eighth century onward, is alluded to in Joel. (Note that Babylon is mentioned as late as Zechariah, 520-518 B.C.; e.g. 2:6 f.; cf. 1:12 f.; 5:5 ff., 11, "Shinar" = Babylon.) And (c) Egypt and Edom are condemned for the murder of innocent Jews (3:19).

These facts, it is claimed by many scholars, favor a pre-exilic date, especially the early years of Joash of Judah (836-796 B.C.), when Jehoiada the priest was guardian (2 Ki. 12:2). This reign would account for the prominence of the priesthood in the prophecy, and the absence of any reference to the king. The mention of Egypt and Edom is accounted for by the invasion by the former under Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam (1 Ki. 14:25 ff.), a century earlier, and by the rebellion of the latter in the time of Jehoram, grandfather of Joash (2 Ki. 8:20 ff.). The early origin of the prophecy would explain the fact that Syria, Assyria, etc., are not mentioned, as these powers had not come in contact as yet with Judah.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noticed that the mention of Syrians in 2 Ki. 12:17 f. was later in the reign of Joash.

Another argument employed in favor of this early time is the position of the prophecy in the O. Test., among the pre-exilic prophetic writings, viz. Hosea, Joel, Amos. But cf. contra, Obadiah (= post-exilic) and Jonah (= Greek period), which come in order before Micah (= 8th cen. B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further in reference to Isa. 34-35, Intros. and Comms. on Isa. in loc. See also Kent, Sermons, etc., 494 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 379 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 23. Driver, Isa. Life and Times, 130 ff. Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 203, n. C. Sanders, etc., Prophs. ii. pp. 272 ff., 282. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 243 f., 247.

<sup>2</sup> Among recent writers favoring the pre-exilic dating, cf. HDB, ii. 672 ff. (Cameron), where an excellent presentation of the arguments for this conclusion may be found.

On the other hand the trend of recent scholarship is strongly in favor of a post-exilic date, as it is held that these references agree as well with this later period, and in some respects even better. Thus in the Persian period the High Priest came in time to be the leading Jewish official, which is in keeping with the prominence given the priesthood in this prophecy. The condemnation of Edom harmonizes better with the later date, as many references are found in exilic and post-exilic literature to an intense feeling of hostility against Edom (cf. Ezek. 35 f.; Ps. 137; Obad., etc.). The condemnation of Egypt may be a reminiscence of older prophecies, or be "mentioned merely as the typical example of a power hostile to Judah." The absence of allusion to Syria can be accounted for as well from the standpoint of a late date as from that of the time of Joash.

Possibly the references both to Edom and Egypt are based on earlier prophecies; cf. Egypt (Ezek. 29:9 ff.; 32:15), and Edom (cf. Ezek. 35:4, 7, etc.).

Note also the mention of the "elders" alone (1:14, R. V. marg.). They are never alluded to in pre-exilic prophecy as the *only* leading civil authority in the nation (cf. Isa. 1:10, 23, etc.; Mic. 3:1, 9, etc.).

A post-exilic date is further strengthened by other lines of evidence in this prophecy, such as: (a) the scattering of the Jews among the nations, their territory being allotted to other peoples (3:2; cf. 2:17, 19), which implies the experience of the Babylonian captivity; (b) the term "Israel," not used in the pre-exilic sense of the Northern Kingdom (which is not mentioned), but in the post-exilic usage of the chosen people represented in the Jewish community (cf. 2:23 with 2:27; 3:1 with 3:2(?); 3:16b with 3:16a, 17); (c) the mention of the Greeks engaged in slave trade (3:6) points to post-exilic times, and seems difficult to account for on the pre-exilic theory. These people are first referred to in Ezekiel (cf. 27:13, 19 = "Javan"). It is known that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Syrian slaves were in demand in Greece. And (d) absence of allusion to idolatry, and the evident interest of the priests and people in sustaining the Temple services (1:9, 13; 2:14) strongly favor the time of the post-exilic community.

The expression "bring back" (or "again") "the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem" (3:1), while it may mean nothing more than "turn the fortune, etc.,"<sup>1</sup> in some instances at least seems to imply a return from captivity (*e.g.* Am. 9:14), and in connection with the mention of the Jewish dispersion among the nations here (3:2) most naturally refers to a full restoration of the Jews of the captivity, to which there seem numerous allusions in post-exilic literature. It seems reasonable, therefore, to use this expression in support of the post-exilic date.<sup>2</sup>

These facts taken together make the post-exilic theory of the origin of this prophecy seem on the whole the more probable one.

"Few results of Old Testament research are as surely determined and as firmly established as that the book of Joel dates from the century between Ezra and Alexander the Great."<sup>3</sup>

The exact time in this period to which Joel belongs is, however, somewhat uncertain. But the century following the constructive work of Ezra-Nehemiah appears on the whole most probable in view of: (*a*) the prominence of the Temple in the civic as well as religious life of the community (1:9; 2:1, 15; 3:17); also the interest in maintaining its services [*cf.* above (*d*)]; (*b*) emphasis in the prophecy on the daily sacrifices; *e.g.* meal-offering (*cf.* 1:9; 2:14 with Neh. 10:33; also Dan. 8:11; 11:31; 12:11); (*c*) the exclusive spirit in reference to foreigners (3:17*b*), and condemnation of all heathen (3:2 *ff.*, 9 *ff.*); and (*d*) the strong apocalyptic character of the book (*e.g.* 2:30 *ff.*; 3:11 *ff.*). These are facts all of which answer well this period.

This conception of the nations *collectively* as enemies of Judah [*cf.* above (*c*)], it is claimed, is characteristic of the later prophetic writings, *e.g.* Ezek. 38 f.; Zech. 14. The earlier prophets mention definite enemies of Judah; *e.g.* Assyria, Isa. 17:12 f.; 10:5 ff., etc.

From the fact that no feeling of hostility is manifested towards Persia, it seems reasonable to place this prophecy before the reign of the cruel Artaxerxes Ochus (358–337 B.C.), when much hostility was aroused among the subject nations

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, Joel, etc., 225, *cf.* p. 14, and refs. to authorities given there.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *contra*, HDB, ii. 675*a* (Cameron), etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 164.

against this power. A probable date accordingly for Joel is in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

There are numerous literary parallels between Joel and other O. Test. writings [e.g. cf. 1:15 with Ezek. 30:2 f.; Isa. 13:6; Zeph. 1:7, etc.; cf. 2:1b-2 with Zeph. 1:14 f.; 3:16 with Am. 1:2; 3:18 with Am. 9:13b; 2:32 with Obad. 17 (where it is claimed the former is clearly a quotation); and many other instances]. From these similar passages opposite conclusions have been drawn: either that Joel was the original and hence is an early writing, or that Joel was a borrower from others and hence the book is late. While it is difficult to form a decision in this case, it is the opinion of many leading scholars at present, that "the easy and classical style of Joel is best understood as that of an accomplished student of earlier literature."

The unity of this prophecy has been questioned at different times, but this view has not met with wide acceptance. For further details cf. outline of Biblical material, p. 268, iii. a.<sup>1</sup>

*H. Isaiah, chaps. 24-27.* These chapters incorporated in Isaiah, which have been termed "one of the most remarkable sections of prophecy in the Old Testament,"<sup>2</sup> are almost impossible to date with any certainty, owing to the vagueness of the allusions. On one point, however, there is practically common agreement, viz. that they belong to an author other than Isaiah and to a later age.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the more important grounds for this conclusion are, *in the first place*, that the historical allusions and background are different from those of Isaiah's day: e.g. (a) Isaiah refers definitely to different nations, such as Judah

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Joel, LOT, 307 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 237 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 133 f., 199. McFadyen, *Introd.* 183 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 325 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 207 ff. Moore, LOT, 192 ff. HDB, ii. 672 ff. (Cameron); iv. 112b (Davidson); extra vol. 708b (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2492 (W. R. Smith and Driver). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Joel, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Bewer); *Expos. B.* = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B.* (Driver); *Cen. B.* (Horton). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 81 f. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 31, 409 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 408 ff., 500. Kent, *Jew. People*, 116, 232 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 27 f., 498 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 289 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 46 ff. (and espec. 57 ff.), 534. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 103 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 164 f. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 312 ff. Hunter, *After Exile*, i. 238 ff. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 114 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 275 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 493a (G. A. Smith).

<sup>3</sup> "Anything more unlike his (= Isaiah's) writing could not be imagined." Moore, LOT, 154.

(3:1 ff.), Israel (7:1 ff.), Syria (7:1 ff.), Egypt (31:1 ff.), Assyria (10:5 ff.), etc., while in chaps. 24–27 as a whole the designations are general (cf. the earth, 24:1 ff., 19 f.) and undefined (cf. some unnamed city or cities, 24:10; 25:2 f.; 26:5; 27:10).

Cf., however, the reference to Moab (25:10 f.), but according to some writers this nation may be used in a representative sense for the enemies of Israel. Cf. also "Assyria," 27:13, which may be used symbolically; see Zech. 10:10 f.<sup>1</sup>

The nations meant in 27:1 are uncertain. They may be Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt; Babylonia, Persia and Egypt; or Egypt, Persia and Greece.

(b) In Isaiah the scope of judgments predicted against nations is confined to the earth (cf. in reference to Judah, 2:10 ff.; 3:1 ff.; and Assyria, 10:33 f.; 14:24 f.); but in chaps. 24–27 those described are apocalyptic in character, the heavens as well as the earth being involved (24:1 ff., 17 ff., 21 ff.). (c) In Isaiah's undisputed writings, while Judah is to be punished, the punishment is to take place in its own land, from which a purified remnant is to be saved *there* (e.g. 1:24 ff.; 4:3; 10:20 f.), but in Isa. 24–27 the experience of the Exile is presupposed; some at least of the Jews being still scattered abroad (26:13; 27:12 f.; 24:14–16?); cf. also n.<sup>1</sup> below.

In Isa. 11:11 f. there is mention of restoration from Exile, it is true, but this is one of the sections which may be a later addition to the prophecy. Cf. pp. 152 f., v. f.

Cf. also the mention of elders (24:23) with Joel 1:14; 2:16. Cf. pp. 217 f.

*In the second place*, the ideas and conceptions are those of a later time: e.g. (a) the apocalyptic and eschatological features of this section [cf. above under (b)] have their closest parallels in exilic and post-exilic times (cf. Ezek.

<sup>1</sup> Note the difference between the Assyria of Isaiah and that of this prophecy: "the deliverance that Isa. declared to be in store for his country was the preservation of its capital from Assyria's attack (10:24–27; 14:25); the deliverance here anticipated is the restoration of dispersed Jews from exile in a land called by that name; and whilst Isa. predicted the overthrow of the Assyrian *army* (10:16 ff., 33 f.; 18:6; 29:7 f.), the present writer speaks of the downfall of an oppressing *city*." (Wade, Isa. 156.)



38 f.; Joel 3:9-21; Zech. 12-14; = respectively c. 586, 400-360(?) and c. 300(?) B.C.; (b) the inclusion of all nations in the Messianic blessing (cf. 25:6-8) indicates a time not earlier than Isa. 40-55 (cf. 42:4, 6; 49:6 f., etc.); and (c) the advanced form in which the doctrine of immortality is expressed (25:8), and that of the resurrection (26:19), point to a much later age than that of Isaiah.

Note in connection with (b) above, that the same outlook is also found in later writings, *e.g.* Isa. 56-66 (cf. 56:6 f.; 66:23); also Zech. 14:16 ff. (= post-exilic).

In addition to (c) above, is the allusion which many find in 24:21 f. to the doctrine of tutelary angels, which is also a late conception; cf. especially Dan. 10:13, 20 f.; 12:1.

*Thirdly*, while there are points of resemblance in style to Isaiah's writings, this section as a whole is more artificial; such features as repetition of ideas (cf. 24:3 ff.); of words (24:16; 26:5, etc.); poetical expression (24:1, 8, etc.) etc., being much more common than in Isaiah's prophecies. This fact also favors difference of authorship.

The resemblances of style can reasonably be explained on the theory that the writer of Isa. 24-27 was familiar with Isaiah's writings.

When, however, an attempt is made to determine the exact occasion and date of this section, as already intimated, a problem of great difficulty and much uncertainty is presented. Opinion to a considerable extent is divided between two views. The first is that it belongs to the early years of the Restoration, especially the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, 522-485 B.C. The different conditions and circumstances of the prophecy, it is held, harmonize well with what is known of that time.

Some of the parallel conditions claimed are: (a) the general expectation of an overturning of the existing world-powers at that time (with 24:1 ff., 18 ff., cf. Hag. 2:6 f., 21 ff.; Zech. 1:11 ff.; but note the same resemblances in the later writings of Joel, *e.g.* 3:16 and Zech. 14:4 f.); (b) the conception of a world-judgment in 24:1 ff., 17 ff. finds a counterpart in Isa. 13:6 ff., c. 550 B.C.; (c) the conditions of 26:13-19 answer to those of the Jews during the first 60 or 70 years after their restoration; (d) the anticipation of further judgments upon Babylon, cf. Zech. 1:12; 2:6 ff., may be

referred to in 24 : 10 ; 25 : 2 ; 26 : 5, etc. (but note that Babylon may be a type of hostile world-powers) ; and (e) the inference from Neh. 1 : 3 of some calamity suffered by the Jews possibly at that time.<sup>1</sup>

The other view is that it had its origin in the closing years of the Persian dominion. The marked theological conceptions of these chapters, referred to above, which are evidently late, answer better, it is claimed, this time than the beginning of that period.

It is an attractive theory advocated by some (especially by Cheyne) in confirmation of this later date, which finds in these chapters references to the alleged sufferings of the Jews under the Persians, and anticipation of redress in the progress of Alexander the Great's conquests. In view of all the facts but little more than the statement of *possibility* seems warranted. Between these two views, however, the second, in the words of Skinner, "is probably the one which best harmonizes the varied indications of the prophecy."<sup>2</sup> With this understanding c. 340-332 B.C. may be assigned as a tentative date.

Such conceptions as those of the resurrection and immortality [p. 222 (c)] found in this prophecy, according to Cheyne go beyond those of the Exile, "and become the more intelligible the later we place this composition in the Persian period."<sup>3</sup>

For a sketch of the closing years of the Persian period, and especially the alleged experiences of the Jews under Artaxerxes Ochus, 358-337 B.C., cf. pp. 273 f. It is claimed that the gloomy tone of chap. 24 refers to the misfortunes of the Jews c. 350 B.C., and the experiences possibly of Jerusalem and other cities, as Sidon, in being laid waste (24 : 10 ff. ; cf. 27 : 10 f.). The notes of joy over the rise of Alexander and his victories are found in 27 : 7-11, and espec. in the lyrical outbursts (cf. 24 : 14 f. ; 25 : 1 ff., 9 ff. ; 26 : 1-19 ; 27 : 2-5), c. 332 B.C. Cf. also a supposed reference in 26 : 1-19 to the capture of Tyre by Alexander at this time. Cf. on Alexander's conquests, pp. 300 f., ii. b.

It is to be noted that some recent scholars following Duhm date this section of prophecy much later, *i.e.* in the 2nd cen. B.C. (Maccabean period), *e.g.* Gray, Kennett, Kent.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 221 ; Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 490 f. See also Skinner, Isa. i. 204 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skinner, Isa. i. p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cheyne, Introd. Isa. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gray, Isa. ; Kennett, Compos. Isa. ; Kent, Sermons, etc., in loc.

For the possibility of the lyrical passages (25:1-5, 9-12; 26:1-19; 27:2-6, cf. also the obscure section 27:7-11) being later additions, perhaps by the same author as the rest of the section, cf. p. 271, iii. *a*.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. POETICAL LITERATURE

*A. The Psalter.* The question of the credibility of the ascriptions of authorship and occasion in the headings of the psalms, and the difficulties connected with the problem of determining the date of individual psalms, have previously been considered. (Cf. pp. 68 ff.) It remains to examine the structure of the Psalter, and to ascertain if possible the times to which the different collections, of which it is composed, are to be assigned.

The Psalter as it is found in the Hebrew Bible is composed of five books, viz. psalms 1-41; 42-72; 73-89; 90-106 and 107-150. These divisions are marked in the Hebrew text, not only by headings (cf. R. V.), but also by doxologies at the end of the first four books (cf. 41:13; 72:18 f.; 89:52; 106:48).

Ps. 150, which is doxological in character, may have been regarded as a fitting ending not only to the fifth book but also for the whole Psalter.

These doxologies, which evidently did not form a part of the psalms to which they are appended (cf. however on Ps. 106:48, p. 233), are of a liturgical order, and show that the collections were first formed for use in public worship. (See further, pp. 228 f.) Note also the fact that the second book contains a special subscription, cf. 72:20. According to Briggs: "Though given usually only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Isaiah, 24-27, LOT, 219 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 181 f. McFadyen, *Introd.* 122 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 278 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 180 ff., 187. Moore, LOT, 153 f. HDB, ii. 493a (G. A. Smith); cf. iv. 112b (Davidson); extra vol. 708b (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2201 f. (Cheyne); *Intros. in Comms. on Isa.*, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Gray); West. C. (Wade); *Expos. B.*, vol. 1 (G. A. Smith); *Camb. B.*, vol. 1 (Skinner); *Cen. B.*, vol. 1 (Whitehouse). SBOT, 122 ff., 203 ff. (Cheyne). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 77. Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* xxvii, 145 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 30 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 135 f., 199. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 497 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 115 f. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 410 f., 500. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 23, 469, 487, 500. Driver, *Isa. Life and Times*, 117 ff. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 479 ff., 488 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 305 ff., 308 ff., 313 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 229 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 165 ff. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 127 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 285 f. Davidson, *Isa.* (TB), 58 ff., 193 ff.

at the close of the books, the doxologies were really used at the conclusion of every Ps. or part of Ps. sung in the liturgy."<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that this five-fold division is older than the LXX translation, as these doxologies are also found in its version of the Psalter.

The following are the more important facts usually cited to prove that the several collections were of gradual growth, — the work of different compilers: (a) the presence of the same psalm in different books (*e.g.* 53 and 14; 70 and 40:13-17; 108 and 57:7-11 + 60:5-12). This duplication can be explained most naturally on the supposition that the collections belong to various dates and compilers.

Cf. also the variant titles of Pss. 14 and 53, from which a reasonable implication is that the collections, in which they are found, are not the work of the same compiler.

(b) The closing words of book ii (72:20), "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," indicate that all the existing psalms attributed to David, which were then known, were included in the preceding books. It seems therefore a logical conclusion that the collections comprised in Pss. 1-72,<sup>2</sup> must have been independent of and probably earlier than the three succeeding books, which contain eighteen more psalms attributed to him.<sup>3</sup> (c) The fourth and fifth books (90-150) differ in a marked way from the first three (3-89), in that a majority of the psalms are anonymous; "musical and liturgical directions are rare, and titles of the obscure character," found in the first three books, "are entirely absent."

For example the musical term "selah," which is found seventeen times in book i, and fifty times in books ii-iii (= Pss. 42-89), occurs only four times in books iv-v (= Pss. 90-150) and in those instances in two psalms which are ascribed to David, viz. 140 (cf. vss. 3, 5, 8) and 143 (cf. vs. 6).

(d) The use of the divine names in the collections also strongly favors the same conclusion. Thus the name "Jehovah" (cf. Am. R. V.; in other E. V. = Lord<sup>4</sup>) pre-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Briggs, Psal. i. p. lxxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> At least the Davidic collections, 3-41 and 51-72.

<sup>3</sup> The 18 Pss. = 86, 101, 103, 108-110, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138-145.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., however, on the distinction between the two words rendered "Lord" in E. V., p. 13, n. <sup>3</sup>.

vails in Pss. 1-41; 84-89 and 90-150; but the use of "God" predominates in Pss. 42-72 and 73-83. The natural inference is that the psalms in the collections, 42-72 and 73-83, have passed through the hands of a compiler or compilers, who substituted the divine name God (= Hebr. "Elohim") for "Jehovah" employed by the original authors. The conclusion from the fact that the Jehovistic psalms are not all in one collection, nor the Elohistie in another, is that this difference of preference for the divine names did not belong to the *final compiler* of the Psalter, but already existed in the various groups from which our present Psalter was constructed.

In book i (1-41) Jehovah is used 272 times and God absolutely (*i.e.* without a possessive pronoun as "my God," etc., or without a qualifying word, as "God of my righteousness," etc.) only 15 times; in Pss. 84-89, Jehovah 31 times and God, 7; in Pss. 90-150, Jehovah 339 times, and God (= the true God) only in Ps. 108:1, 5, 7, 11 and 13 (= from Pss. 57 and 60), and in 144:9 (= a compilation). In Pss. 42-72, God is used 164 times and Jehovah 30; in 73-83, God 36 and Jehovah 13 times.

That this use of the divine name God (= Elohim) was due to the compiler's substitution, rather than to the preference of the original composers of the psalms, is demonstrated: (a) by a comparison of the parallel psalms in different collections. Thus Ps. 14 (= Jehovah) // Ps. 53 (= Elohim); also Ps. 40:13-17 (= Jehovah) // Ps. 70 (= Elohim, though Jehovah is found twice, vss. 1, 5); and (b) by the occurrence of the expression found nowhere else in the O. Test. but in these Elohistie collections, "God, my (or "thy") God," *e.g.* 43:4; 45:7, which seems clearly a substitution for the original wording, "Jehovah my (or "thy") God," which is the customary form (*e.g.* Pss. 7:1; 13:3, etc.). Note also the title "God of hosts" (80:7, 14) instead of "Jehovah of hosts" (cf. 24:10).

Some authorities in support of the position that the collections were not of the same age or by the same compiler claim (*e*) that the various parts of the Psalter differ in character. Thus in book i, the psalms are personal, *i.e.* prayers and thanksgivings; in ii-iii national in standpoint; and in iv-v liturgical in character. This, however, is a general distinction, to which there are numerous exceptions.

As regards the steps in the formation of the present Psalter, the following order, first suggested by Ewald,<sup>1</sup> has generally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ewald, Psal. i. 4 ff.

been accepted by subsequent scholars: viz. that the *first* collection consisted of Pss. 3-41; the *second* of the Elohist groups, 42-72 and 73-83 (the original order of which probably was 51-72, 42-49 and 50 + 73-83), to which 84-89 form an appendix. The *third* main division comprised Pss. 90-150.

Pss. 1-2 are taken in this volume to be introductory psalms to the whole Psalter, prefixed by the final compiler.

Pss. 3-41 consist almost wholly of Davidic psalms, *i.e.* psalms attributed in their headings to David.

Pss. 51-72 are also almost entirely Davidic. Note the appropriate doxology and subscription (72:20), which indicates a collection later than Pss. 3-41. This is probably the earliest group in the second division.

Pss. 42-49 consist wholly of Korahite psalms.

Pss. 50, 73-83 are Asaphic psalms, which, it is supposed, were originally grouped together, instead of being separated as now by the Davidic section Pss. 51-72. [Cf. possibly the next step = an Elohist combination and redaction of Pss. 51-72; 42-49; 50 + 73-83, *i.e.* "by an editor who generally substituted Elohim (God) for Jehovah."]

That Pss. 84-89 form an appendix to the second collection is seen by (a) the fact that this group contains psalms of Korah (84-85, 87-88?) and one Davidic (86), which would naturally have been included respectively in the groups 42-49 and 51-72, if collected by the same compilers of those divisions; and (b) by the preference for the name Jehovah in this group of psalms; cf. God (Elohim) in the preceding sections.

That Pss. 90-150 as a group are later than Pss. 42-83 is shown from the following facts: (a) Ps. 108, which is made up of Pss. 57:7-11 and 60:5-12 is marked by the use of the divine name God ("Elohim"), though elsewhere in this division the name Jehovah is generally used. The clear inference is that this psalm (108) was derived from a collection, which was characterized by the use of Elohim, *i.e.* from the collection Pss. 42-83. (b) The use of the name Jehovah in this division shows that the compiler was (or compilers were) not the same as that (or those) of Pss. 42-83 (= Elohist); and (c) the presence of a number of psalms in this division attributed to David (cf. the list, p. 225, n.<sup>3</sup>), points to a date later than the compilation of Pss. 42-72; cf. the statement Ps. 72:20.

That books iv-v (= Pss. 90-150) should be considered as one collection and not two seems evident from: (a) the similarity in character of the two parts; (b) the same preference for the divine

name Jehovah; and (c) whatever may be the true explanation of the doxology at the close of Ps. 106 [cf. p. 233 (a)–(c)] it forms an arbitrary division, as Ps. 107 is the natural sequel of Ps. 106, and hence it cannot be regarded as other doxologies, which clearly mark the conclusion of separate collections.

It is to be noticed, however, that Pss. 90–150 seem also to include minor collections, *e.g.* Pss. 93 + 95–100 = a group characterized by similarity of subject-matter and expressions; so also 111–118, “the Hallel” psalms (according to Briggs = originally four groups, viz. 104–107, 111–117, 135–136, 146–150);<sup>1</sup> Pss. 120–134, the “Songs of Degrees” or “Ascents,” and perhaps others.

According to the above rearrangement it will be seen that the original division of the Psalter was a three-fold one, viz. Pss. (1–2), 3–41; 42–89 and 90–150. The present five-fold division, therefore, is a somewhat artificial one, and is generally supposed to have been made to accord with the number of books of the Pentateuch.

This five-fold division was made by separating the second main group at the end of Ps. 72, the subscription of which forms a natural division; and by dividing the third main section at the end of Ps. 106.

In reference to the date of these different *collections*, the consensus of opinion among Old Testament scholars to-day is that none is earlier than the period of the Restoration, *i.e.* the Persian period.

The attention of the reader is called especially to the fact, that in this connection it is the date of the *collections*, not so much that of the individual psalms composing them, which is being considered. The age of a collection must of course be later than that of the psalms which compose it (except in the case of later insertions), and the possibility must be taken into consideration that it may contain some, or even a considerable number, of an earlier time.

Two facts at least are urged in support of this view of the period to which the compilation of the different collections is to be assigned. The *first* is that the different groups seem clearly designed for the Temple service, which strongly favors this date, as there is no certain reference to Temple musicians as a class till after the Return, when the sanctuary and its services [especially from the time of the reforms of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Briggs, Psal. i. pp. lxxviii f.

Ezra and Nehemiah (458-432 B.C.)], became matters of supreme interest in the Jewish community.<sup>1</sup>

The above opinion, that the collections were designed for the Temple service, has recently been questioned by a number of scholars, who hold that many of the psalms were not intended for this purpose and were not used as such. Hence Cheyne prefers to term the Psalter "the prayer-book and hymn-book of the (post-exilic) Jewish community."<sup>2</sup>

The first definite reference to the singers as a class is in the list of returned Exiles in Ezra 2 (cf. vs. 41). Such pre-exilic allusions as Am. 5:23, it is believed, refer "to the worshippers at large."<sup>3</sup>

That the design of the various sections of the Psalter was for Temple usage is seen by: (a) the musical headings and directions (especially in the divisions included in books i-iii), which have their closest parallel alone in the descriptions of the Levitical psalmody of the Temple in the late books of Chronicles; (b) the liturgical character of the psalms, which appears most clearly in the later collections; and (c) the prominence given to the Temple, Zion, the holy city, in many of the psalms also favors the same conclusion.<sup>4</sup>

As illustrating (a) above, cf. such headings as (a) "For the chief musician," 55 times, mostly in books i-iii (cf. Pss. 4-5, etc.). The root meaning of which = "to oversee" is found in verbal form only in Chronicles-Ezra; e.g. "to lead" (i.e. the music), 1 Chr. 15:21; and in the sense of superintending (1 Chr. 23:4; 2 Chr. 2:2, 18, etc.; Ezra 3:8 f.); (β) "Selah," a doubtful term, but probably relating to musical setting (e.g. Pss. 3:2, 4, 8; 4:2, 4, etc.); (γ) the terms "Alamoth" and "Sheminith," etc. (Pss. 46; 6; 12; cf. 1 Chr. 15:19-21); (δ) also the title, "A Psalm, a Song for the Sabbath day" (Ps. 92); cf. the LXX, in which Ps. 24 is assigned to the first day of the week; Ps. 48 to the second; Ps. 94 to the fourth; and Ps. 93 to the sixth. It is known that in the second Temple each day of the week had its special psalm, which was sung at the offering of the morning service (cf. Eccles. 50:14 ff.). And (ε) the doxologies of the different collections (cf. above, pp. 224 f.) have the same bearing.

As an illustration of (b) above, i.e. the liturgical character of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the fact of no indication in pre-exilic literature of the influence of the Psalter. Cornill, *Introd.* 398.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3923 f. (Cheyne). Cornill, *Introd.* 410 f.

<sup>3</sup> For a different view, cf. Robertson, *Poet. and Relig.*, etc., 98 ff., 108 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. such psalms as 15; 24; 42 f.; 63; 65; 84; 87, etc.



certain groups in the Psalter, cf. the Hallelujah psalms (111–118), which were connected with the trumpet blowing of the priests (1 Chr. 16 : 4 ff. ; 25 : 3 ; 2 Chr. 5 : 12 f., etc.).

The *second fact* in support of the late date of the collections is this, that even in the generally admitted oldest portion of the Psalter, Pss. 3–41, the experiences of the Exile seem reflected to a considerable extent in a number of the psalms.

“Only in this way can we understand the conflict and triumph of spiritual faith, habitually represented as the faith of a poor and struggling band, living in the midst of oppressors, and with no strength or help but the consciousness of loyalty to Jehovah, which is the fundamental note of the whole book.” Cf. the influence of Lam. and Isa. 40 ff. in Pss. 22 and 25, etc.<sup>1</sup>

As to the exact dates within the post-exilic periods to which the various divisions composing the Psalter are to be assigned, there is found a considerable variation of opinion among scholars at present. The following may be taken as tentative positions on this point, which is involved in a good deal of uncertainty, and which accordingly leaves room for different conclusions.

1. The first collection, Pss. (1–2 ?), 3–41, may be dated approximately from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (458–432 B.C.), when the Temple services were reorganized, as is evidenced by the advanced stage of development in Temple psalmody implied therein. Some, however, place it earlier in the Persian period ; others later.

Among those holding this view of the age of the collection, Pss. 3–41, may be mentioned, W. R. Smith, Kautzsch, Bennett, Gordon, etc.

Among those holding an earlier date for this collection, the following divergent views may be mentioned: (a) the time of Solomon, c. 980 ff. B.C. = Delitzsch, Perowne ; (b) from the middle of the 10th to the 8th (or 7th) cens. B.C. = Ewald ; (c) the “period shortly after the Exile as the earliest possible and the most probable date” = Davison. Cf. “probably not completed in its present form till after the Exile” = Kirkpatrick ; also Driver for books i–ii.

Among those who consider that this collection belongs to a later time, cf. the view of Briggs, that all the Davidic psalms = late Persian period ; also the view of Cheyne that books i–iii belong

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 220.

probably to the Persian period or early Greek. Book i, not earlier than 400 B.C. (Cornill). Book i = soon after Nehemiah and the priestly reforms associated with Ezra (Kent).<sup>1</sup>

2. The Elohist collections, *i.e.* Pss. 51-72 (Davidic), and the two-fold Levitical groups, Pss. 42-49; 50 + 73-83, may be assigned to the last part of the Persian period, c. 430-330 B.C. The external grounds upon which this conclusion is based are: (a) that these collections are later than that of Pss. 3-41;<sup>2</sup> and (b) that the Levitical sections were probably compiled before the time of the Chronicler, c. 300-250 B.C. (who describes the past in terms of the institutions of his own day). This is shown by the fact that he mentions *three* Temple choirs, viz. Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun (cf. 1 Chr. 6:31 ff.; 16:41 f.; 2 Chr. 25:1, etc.), whereas in these psalm-collections only *two* are mentioned, viz. Korah and Asaph.

"Jeduthun" as found in Chr. (cf. 1 C. 25:1 ff.; 2 C. 5:12, etc.) "is generally allowed" to be another name of Ethan. See also the name in titles of Pss. 39; 62:77.<sup>3</sup>

The first undoubted appearance of the three guilds of singers is found in Neh. 12:24, but this refers to the time of Darius Codomannus, 336-331 B.C. Cf. also Neh. 11:17, which is probably older than the section 12:22-26, but it is edited by Ch. See p. 261, ii. d.

It seems in the early part of the Persian period and apparently as late as the time of Nehemiah, that only one Temple choir was in existence (cf. Ezra 2:41; 10:23 f.; Neh. 7:1, 44, 73, etc.), which confirms the view that the two guilds of singers, Asaph and Korah, presupposed in the Levitical groups of the Psalter, were subsequent to Nehemiah.

The absence of any recognition of sinfulness in the community in the Asaphic and Korahite groups (*e.g.* 42; 44; 73, etc.), it is claimed, harmonizes with this age, viz. after the adoption of the Priestly Code, 445 (444) B.C.<sup>4</sup>

Note the view of Briggs, who dates the Levitical groups in the early Greek period, *i.e.* after 332 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cornill, Introd. 404. Kent, Songs, etc., 45.

<sup>2</sup> That the collection, Pss. 3-41, must have been in existence for a long time, having "a fixed liturgical position," seems evident from the fact that it was not touched by the Elohist revision, which is seen in such a marked manner in the second collection [cf. pp. 225 f. (d)].

<sup>3</sup> Cf. further, LOT, 370, n. \*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 206 f.

<sup>5</sup> Briggs, Psal. i. pp. lxx ff. Cf. Kent, Songs, etc., 46.

3. Pss. 84–89, the Jehovistic supplement to the Elohistie collections, being of necessity later than these, may be brought down almost to the time of the Chronicler, c. 300–250 B.C., as the three-fold division of the Temple choir [cf. above 2 (b)] is presupposed in this group. Cf. the headings of Pss. 88 and 89, in which the names Heman and Ethan (the former being combined with Korah) are found. This division may, according to Bennett, mark “the transition from Korah to Heman and Ethan” of the age of the Chronicler.<sup>1</sup>

In the time of the Chronicler the “Korahites” denoted a company of porters and doorkeepers of the Temple, not singers (cf. 1 Chr. 9:19; 26:1, 19).<sup>2</sup>

Among those holding this date for the compilation of Pss. 84–89 may be mentioned W. R. Smith, Bennett, Kautzsch, Driver and Briggs.

4. The remaining collection of the Psalter, Pss. 90–150, in view of the above conclusions, is thus brought down into the Greek period (332–165 B.C.), as the earliest possible date, *i.e.* c. 250 B.C. In confirmation of this view of the late compilation of this group of psalms is the absence from them of the musical titles, which are found so frequently in the earlier divisions, and which were evidently familiar to a writer as late as the Chronicler. The inference to be drawn from this fact is that this collection dates from an age so much later than the Chronicler, that these terms were no longer used or understood, just as they were unintelligible to the Septuagint translators.

As also favoring the Greek age for this collection it is held that the condition of well-being and happiness, reflected in many of the psalms of this collection, corresponds with the experience of the Jews under the Ptolemies in the third century B.C. (*e.g.* Pss. 91 f.; 106:46, etc.).

A further argument for a late date of this collection is the strong Aramaic influence in some of the psalms; *e.g.* Ps. 139.

It is, moreover, quite possible that this division should be brought down even later, if, as many scholars believe, it

<sup>1</sup> Bennett, *Introd.* 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, 204. HDB, iii. 12b; and iv. 37a (Selbie). Kent, *Songs*, etc., 35.

contains as well a number of psalms belonging to the Maccabean age, 165 ff. B.C., *e.g.* Pss. 118, 149 (cf. vss. 6 ff.), etc. If this view is correct, this collection, Pss. 90–150 (together with the combination and completion of the other different portions of the Psalter), will belong of necessity to the Maccabean period — according to some in the early part of it; according to others at its close, c. 140 B.C.<sup>1 2</sup>

Among those holding the early Maccabean date for this collection, cf. W. R. Smith, Bennett, Ryle. Note also Davison, who considers that the Psalter was completed c. 180 B.C.

Among those holding the later part of the Maccabean period as the age of this collection, etc., cf. Kautzsch, Cheyne, H. P. Smith. Note also Briggs = c. the middle of the 2nd cen. B.C. Gray = c. 100 B.C. (Intro. 129).

The reader is again reminded, that assigning this late date to this collection does not of necessity mean that all the psalms contained in it had their origin in that period. Thus W. R. Smith places the group termed the “Psalms of Degrees” or “Ascents” (120–134) in post-exilic times but earlier than the Elohist collections.

It is held by some scholars that the collection, Pss. 90–150, must be earlier than the Chronicler, as in 1 Chr. 16 is found a psalm, composed of several from the Psalter, of which vs. 36 = the doxology in Ps. 106 (cf. vs. 48), from which the conclusion has been drawn that the Chronicler must have quoted from the Psalter, as it at present exists, in its five-fold division. This inference, however, is not accepted by many scholars; by some on the ground: (a) that vs. 48 in Ps. 106 forms really a part of the psalm rather than a doxology to the whole group, Pss. 90–106 (cf. W. R. Smith); by others who claim, (b) that the doxology was composed by the Chronicler and borrowed by the editor of the Psalter (cf. Ryle); while others hold (c) that 1 Chr. 16: 8–36 is a late addition to Chr., cf. Reuss, Baethgen, Duhm, etc.).

Another objection, which is brought against assigning so late a date for the final compilation of the third division of the Psalms and the Psalter as a whole, is that in the LXX the Psalter is found substantially as in the Hebrew, and it is claimed that this transla-

<sup>1</sup> The reasons suggested above, and in connection with the preceding sections, for determining the dates are substantially those given by W. R. Smith. Cf. O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 201 ff.; EBi, iii. 3926 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Note Kent's conclusion that the Hallel Pss. (104–118, and 136–150) = latter part of the Greek and the 1st part of the Maccabean periods. The psalms of Degrees or Ascents (120–134) = latter part of Greek period. The concluding work on the Psal. = probably in the peaceful and prosperous reign of Simon, 143–135 B.C. Cf. Kent, Songs, etc., 47.

tion was made before the Maccabean age. In reply to this argument it may be stated that the history of the LXX is involved in much obscurity, but there is no evidence to show that the third division of the Canon, which contains the Psalter, was translated (hence indicating its completion in the Hebrew) so early. The earliest testimony to the existence of the three-fold division of the O. Test. in Greek is found c. 130 B.C., in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus added by the grandson of the author. It is reasonable to suppose that the third division contained the Psalter practically as it is to-day, — hence its completion in Hebrew before 130 B.C., but not necessarily before the Maccabean age.

A comparison of the Psalter with the so-called Psalms of Solomon, which belong to 63–48 (or 45) B.C., is viewed in different ways by scholars, as related to the date of the former. According to some it shows that the Psalter belongs to a much earlier time. In the words of Kirkpatrick, "the contrast is immense. They (*i.e.* Psalms of Solomon) are separated from the Psalter by an impassable gulf"; cf. Davison; Budde, etc. Others form a different conclusion, *e.g.* Wellhausen, who asserts that these psalms "do not differ from the canonical ones in any essential characteristic," and hence that this group shows the possibility of late composition in the Psalter.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars who consider that the Psalter was practically closed before the Maccabean age, but who admit the possibility of Maccabean psalms, hold that they must be limited in number, being inserted in collections already compiled. Pss. 74, 79, 44 and 83 are those which are more commonly considered Maccabean.<sup>2 3 4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kirkpatrick, Psal. iii. pp. xlviii f. HDB, iv. 148b f. (Davison); 13a (Budde). Gordon, Poets, etc., 114. Wellhausen, Psal. 163. See also Cheyne, Aids, etc., 135 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kirkpatrick, Psal. iii. pp. xlv ff., lix. Davison, Psal. 27 f.; HDB, iv. 152b f. (Davison). Cf. also W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 437 ff. Cornill, Introd. 407 ff. Gordon, Poets, etc., 106, n. 1. See p. 318, iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> For Briggs' view of the groupings and dates of the different collections of the Psalter, cf. his Psal. i. lxi ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of the Psalter, LOT, 359 ff., 371 ff. Bennett, Introd. 134 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 141 ff., 198 ff. McFadyen, Introd. 238 ff. Cornill, Introd. 392 ff., 401 ff. Gray, Introd. 128 ff. Moore, LOT, 216 ff. HDB, iii. 612 f. (Woods); iv. 13a (Budde); 36 f. (Selbie); 145 ff. (Davison); extra vol. 723b (Kautzsch). EBi, iii. 3921 ff. (W. R. Smith and Cheyne); Intros. in Comms. on Psalms, espec. Int. Crit., 2 vols. (Briggs); Camb. B., 3 vols. (Kirkpatrick); Cen. B., vol. 1 (Davison), vol. 2 (Davies); SBOT, 162 ff. (Wellhausen). Also in Ewald, Psal., 2 vols.; Delitzsch, Psal. 3 vols. Bennett, Primer, etc., 61, 100 ff. Cheyne, Origin Psal. Cheyne, Aids, etc., 129 ff. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 321 ff., 334 ff. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 188 ff. Kent, Songs, etc., 45 ff. Gordon, Poets, etc., espec. chap. 6, pp. 97 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 137 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 471 ff., 501. Kent, Jew. People, 117 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist.

*B. Job.*<sup>1</sup> The book of Job, which deals with the problem of the suffering of the righteous, or the doctrine of retribution, gives evidence of an age of advanced reflection. Though the scene of the plot of the poem is laid in Patriarchal times (cf. chaps. 1 f.; 42:7 ff.), the opinion of scholars is practically unanimous in regarding it as a literary product of a much later period.

Of the arguments commonly used in support of this conclusion the following are some of the most important. *First*, the book implies an advanced state of society; also a wider range of observation than would have been possible on the part of a nomad in the Patriarchal period.

Cf. the illustrations from history (chap. 12:13 ff.); references to different classes of society (chaps. 24; 30:1-8); indications of the settled life of Palestine, as seen in the mention of the place of judgment (*e.g. the gate*, 29:7; 31:21; cf. Amos 5:10), and evidences of an established system of judicial procedure (*e.g.* 31:11, 28, 35 f.; cf. also Job's appeal to God, 13:18 ff.).

*Secondly*, the condition of disorder and distress, reflected in different parts of the book, indicates a wider experience and observation than those based upon personal suffering merely.

Cf. 3:18 ff.; 7:1; 9:24; 12:6, 17; 24:12. Such a description as 12:17 ff. most naturally points to a time at least as late as the Assyrian or Babylonian conquests (cf. *Isa.* 10:7, 13 f., etc.), if not later, which produced such marked political changes in the kingdoms of Western Asia.

*Thirdly*, the problem of the book presupposes an age of much reflection. It was not a subject to appear in such a developed form at an early period. It indicates a time of questioning, when the accepted views and inferences in reference to the problems of well-being and suffering were failing to satisfy the thoughtful. The inference also seems

16 ff., cf. 495 f. Robertson, *Poet. and Relig.*, etc., espec. chaps. iii ff. Sanday, *Inspir.*, 193 ff., 250 ff., 270 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, xvi, 124. G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 86 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 286, 298. McFadyen, *Psal.* 16 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 320 ff., 364 ff., cf. 226 ff., 283 ff., 317 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The books of Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes form the so-called *Hokhma* or *Wisdom literature* of the O. Test. For the scope and characteristics of this literature, cf. *LOT*, 392 ff., 409, 465. *HDB*, iv. 924 ff. (Siegfried). *EBi*, iv. 5322 ff. (Toy), etc.

clear that thinking men must have reflected long on these themes, before they could be so elaborately treated as they are in this book. The first indication of this questioning spirit is found in the time of Jeremiah, 626 ff. B.C. (e.g. Jer. 12:1; cf. Habak. 1:13 f., etc.).

According to Davison, this is perhaps the only argument "which is really conclusive." . . . "The problems of human life are doubtless old, but they could not be raised in the manner displayed in Job, without a previous religious history, and one of considerable duration, in which the doctrine of the three friends had come to be the current and orthodox explanation of the facts of life. The history of the Old Testament shows that only at a comparatively late period were these maxims questioned; and when we find them not only questioned but discussed in the thorough manner of the book of Job, we may be sure that it was not composed till at least the closing period of the monarchy."<sup>1</sup>

Cf. also the question of children suffering for parental sins in Jer. 31:29; Ezek. chap. 18. Note also Job 21:19.

Among other reasons cited to show that the book of Job is later than the Patriarchal age may be mentioned: (a) alleged references to the observances of Israelitish law in the book (cf. 22:6 and 24:9 with Ex. 22:26 f.; Deut. 24:17 f.; 22:27 and 24:2 with Deut. 23:21-23; 19:14, etc.; cf. Hos. 5:10), etc.; (b) the mention of Ophir in 22:24 and 28:16 points to a date at least as late as Solomon (cf. 1 Ki. 9:28; 10:11); (c) the literary form and character of the poem also imply a late time. The knowledge indicated, the illustrations, references, the orderly and progressive development of thought in the poem, "appear to imply an advanced and not a primitive period of literature and life"; (d) the developed form of morality (cf. especially chap. 31) and the conception of God set forth in the book harmonize with a late rather than with an early period; and (e) allusion to the worship of the sun and moon (Job 31:26-28), = a cultus not introduced into Israel till the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (cf. 2 Ki. 21:3, 5; 16:10; 17:16, etc.), etc.

As to the exact time to which the book belongs there is considerable uncertainty. Between two periods, however, the opinion of scholars is to a large extent divided, viz. the Exile on the one hand, and a post-exilic date on the other.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 670b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for pre-exilic date (= age of Hezekiah), Genung, *Epic of Inner Life*, 102 ff., 110 ff. Note also the date, the later years of the Kingdom, or the Exile (Gibson, *Job*, xxiii).

In favor of its exilic origin are the following considerations: (a) the facts already cited, in favor of a date later than the Patriarchal times, harmonize well with the Exile. (b) The Exile furnished a fitting occasion (at least a more probable one than any other up to that time) for the discussion of a great moral problem such as is presented in this book; — the experience of Job standing not simply for that of an individual, but typifying that of righteous Israel, which suffered in Exile. (c) Further, the parallels of language and thought between Job and Isaiah 40 ff., it is claimed, strongly favor the inference that both writers at least "lived surrounded by the same atmosphere of thought."<sup>1</sup>

Some of these parallels of language between Isaiah 40 ff. and Job are Job 9:8 // Isa. 44:24, cf. 45:12; Job 26:12 f. // Isa. 51:9; Job 13:28 // Isa. 50:9, etc. Some of the analogies of thought are Job's sufferings, though innocent; the harsh judgment of his friends; the ill-treatment he received, etc. (cf. 1:8; 16:10; 19:4 ff.; 30:9 f. with Isa. 53:11; 52:14 ff.; 50:6); also his restoration (Job 42:10 ff., cf. with Isa. 52:13 f.; 53:12, etc.), etc.

Among other arguments for the exilic date from similarity of expression see those with Jeremiah and Lamentations: *e.g.* chap. 3, cf. Jer. 20:14 ff.; Job 6:15, cf. Jer. 15:18; Job 19:7 f., cf. Lam. 3:6-9. This argument from parallels of literary expression is an uncertain one as to which is the earlier or original, and it is one "that the best critics do not press, as it is encumbered with doubt and difficulty, and is apt to resolve itself into a matter of subjective impressions."<sup>2</sup>

Among the authorities in favor of the exilic dating of Job are Davidson, Ryle, Aitken, Cheyne formerly (cf. Job and Sol.). Cf. Driver = Exile or shortly after.

On the other hand some of the facts favoring a post-exilic date are: (a) Righteous Job is a typical character representing Israel. Such a consciousness of national self-righteousness points to a time after the reforms of Ezra-Nehemiah, 458-432 B.C.

Cf. also the absence of consciousness of sinfulness in the Asaphic and Korahite psalms, which are assigned to the closing part of the Persian period; see p. 231.

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, Job, lxvi f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 670b (Davison). But note comment in Gray, Introd. 126.



A different argument is followed here by some scholars, viz. that in Deut.-Isa. the problem of suffering is treated as related to the nation (*i.e.* the "Servant of Jehovah" = Israel); but in Job, as related to the individual, — Job standing for an individual experience not typifying that of the nation. As the conception of the individual in the development of O. Test. thought was later than that of the nation, the inference is that the book of Job must have followed Deut.-Isa. chronologically.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Satan is mentioned (chaps. 1 f.), a character elsewhere named only in post-exilic literature; (c) the angelology of the book finds its closest parallel in the late book of Daniel, 167–165 B.C.

The other references in post-exilic literature to Satan are in Zech. 3:1 ff. (519 B.C.); Ps. 109:6 (= post-exilic); and 1 Chr. 21:1 (c. 300–250 B.C.). The conception of Satan in Job appears to be intermediate between those of the Zechariah and the Chronicles passages. For (a) while in the Zech. and Job sections there is much in common (Satan in both being subordinate to Jehovah), yet in Zech. his spirit of maliciousness is exercised against one who is *sinful* (cf. Zech. 3:3, *i.e.* the "filthy garments"), while in Job he is moved against one who is *righteous*, and instigates Jehovah against him (cf. Job 1:9 ff.; 2:3 ff.); (b) in both passages (Zech. and Job), in the original the article is employed (= lit. "the satan," *i.e.* the accuser or adversary); but in 1 Chr. 21:1, "Satan" is a proper name as the article is omitted, *i.e.* his personality is distinctly recognized; and (c) a further step is seen in the development of the doctrine in the Chr. passage, as Satan there incites David (*i.e.* man) against God.

The following are some of the parallels in angelology with Daniel: in both they are termed "holy ones" (*e.g.* Job 15:15, R. V., cf. Dan. 4:14; though, cf. their limitations in Job 4:18; 21:22; 25:2). Cf. also their intercessory office (Job 5:1), with the conception of each nation with its guardian angel in Daniel (cf. 10:13, 20; 12:1).

(d) The condition of social and political disturbance reflected in the book (cf. 7:1; 12:17–25; 14:1 f.), as well as its speculative tone, harmonizes best with a late date. And (e) with this late age the "inwardness of the morality" expressed in such passages as 29:12 ff.; 31:1 ff. is in accord.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peake, Job, 39. McFadyen, Introd. 280. Gray, Introd. 125. Strahan, Job, 19.

Among other reasons given for the post-exilic period are: (f) the alleged dependence of Job 15: 7 f. on Prov. 8: 22 ff. (especially vs. 25), on the supposition that Prov. 1-9 is late post-exilic. Cf., however, Davidson, Driver, etc., who hold this order of dependence, but date the Prov. section as pre-exilic, and Job exilic. The originality, however, may rest with the Job section (*e.g.* Toy). (g) The parallel between Job 21: 17 and Prov. 13: 9; 24: 20, in which it is claimed that Job is clearly a citation from Prov. (Davison, Gibson, etc.). (h) The parody on Ps. 8: 4 f. in Job 7: 17 f., from the standpoint of Ps. 8 being post-exilic. While the priority here seems evidently to be with the psalm, the difficulty in determining its date precludes any satisfactory inference from it, as bearing upon the age of Job. (i) Those who adopt the view that the Jews suffered severely from Artaxerxes Ochus, c. 350 B.C., find in that event a fitting occasion for the discussion of the problem of the suffering righteous, which is set forth in Job (*cf.* also Isa. 63: 17; 64: 5 f., Kent). (j) The similarity of the questioning spirit between Job and Malachi (*e.g.* 2: 17; 3: 14; *cf.* also the general temper of the book = c. 460 B.C., McFadyen). (k) The prophetic conflict with heathenism, which lasted as late as Deutero-Isaiah and later, does not appear in Job. Thus in Deut.-Isa. c. 540 B.C., God's power, as inferred from His creative works, is used as an argument against idolatry (*e.g.* 40: 12 ff.). In Job it is assumed apparently as a generally accepted doctrine on the part of non-Israelites, *e.g.* Job's friends. From this fact the inference is that the date of Job must be later than Deut.-Isa. (Peake).

Other arguments are (l) the comparison of Prov. 8 and Job 28, in which the priority is claimed for the description in the former. On this point, however, the judgment of scholars differs; *cf.* Comms. and Intros. in loc. And (m) the conception of double restoration set forth in Job 42: 12, 10b; *cf.* Isa. 61: 7; Zech. 9: 12; Jer. 16: 14-18.

Between the exilic and the post-exilic datings of the poem it is somewhat difficult to decide, but on the whole the latter appears more probable, though the former view has strong arguments in its favor and there are many who consider them conclusive. The closing part of the Persian period, c. 350 ff. B.C., to which a number of scholars assign its composition, may accordingly be taken as a date as reasonably certain as any suggested in the post-exilic age.

"When we take the ideas of the book into consideration, we see that it is best understood as the provisional summing up of a long period of meditation under the combination of special

influences, which existed in the post-exilic age and at no other period."<sup>1</sup>

The relation of Job to Isa. 53 is used as an argument, both by those holding the exilic and post-exilic dates in support of their position. The teaching of the chap. in Isa. is more developed than in Job. Cf. the doctrine of vicarious suffering, 53: 6, 10, which is not taught in Job. Hence those holding the exilic origin of Job consider that it precedes Isa. 40 ff. chronologically. Most scholars, however, incline to the other view of the historical order of the two writings. The problem is further complicated by the theory of some recent scholars (cf. pp. 198 f., iii. *k.*) that the Servant passages in Isa. 40 ff. are later insertions; also by the question of the present book of Job as related to an earlier form of the story (cf. 271, iii. *f.*). (Note that Cheyne admits the possibility that both Isa. 53 and the original Job, — of which, according to his view, chaps. 1:1–2:13; 42:7–17 = what has been preserved, — date c. 500 B.C.) While the view of Davison seems a reasonable one, viz. that either the two writings (*i.e.* Job and Isa. 40 ff.) are entirely independent, or Job is the earlier of the two, it can hardly count (in view of the complications of the problem) as a decisive factor in determining the date.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the statement of McFadyen to the effect that the solution of the problem of suffering in Deut.-Isa. "stands without serious influence on the subsequent development of religious thought in the O. Test."<sup>3</sup>

Another argument, which has been used as bearing on this question, is the language of the book, which, it is claimed, points to a relatively late age. It is "peculiar and striking," containing a considerable admixture of Aramaic words, and others, less numerous, of Arabic origin. But the opinion of scholars differs as to the conclusion to be drawn from these linguistic traits. Not only is a late date inferred from these facts by some scholars, but a comparatively early one from the same data by others.

The following are some of the variant post-exilic dates for Job: almost any time between the Exile and 300 B.C. (G. A. Smith). The main portion = c. 500–450 B.C., though possibly later (Duhm, EBi, iii. 3801). Possibly c. 450 B.C. (Strahan). 450–350 B.C. (McFadyen). c. 400 B.C. (H. P. Smith, Gray, Gordon; cf. Peake). 5th or 4th centuries B.C. (Moore, LOT, 240). The closing years of the Persian period, *i.e.* 350–332 B.C. (Kautzsch, Kent, Bennett, Cheyne = EBi, ii. 2485 f.). Late Persian or possibly early Greek period, *i.e.* 350–300 B.C. (Toy, Cheyne = Jew. Relig. Life, pp. xvi, 159 ff.). Cf. Schmidt = period of the diadochi or first of the Ptolemies.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2488 (Cheyne).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 671*a* (Davison).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. McFadyen, Introd. 280.

For additions to the poem, *e.g.* chaps. 28; 32-37 (= Elihu speeches), etc., cf. pp. 272 f., iii. *h.-k.*

For the view of an earlier book of Job upon which the present book is based, cf. pp. 271, iii. *f.*; 166, ii. *l.*; 256, ii. 2. *c.*<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. LEGAL LITERATURE. THE PRIESTLY CODE (P)

The Priestly Code includes, in addition to a portion of the historical material embodied in the Hexateuch, which has already been considered (cf. pp. 17 f.), a large proportion of the legal sections in those books, such as Ex. 25:1-31:17 (18); chaps. 35-40; Leviticus and a large part of Numbers. These laws which relate largely to the ritual of worship and matters which are ceremonial in character, rather than to those which are civic or ethical in their bearing, are "marked throughout by a sameness of tone and spirit."

While this Code is usually designated by the symbol P, by some it is denoted by P<sup>2</sup>; while the Law of Holiness, Lev. 17-26 (= usually H), is marked as P<sup>1</sup>.

The characteristics of this document have previously been described in connection with the treatment of the historical material which it contains (cf. pp. 17 f.). It remains now to consider its date, in its present form, more especially as it is determined by the legal part of it.

The following facts which bear upon this point may be noticed: *First*, many features of the Priestly legal code are in advance of the Deuteronomic legislation, 621 B.C., and point to a later age. Thus (*a*) the central sanctuary, the end aimed at in Deuteronomy (enjoined but not real-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Job, LOT, 408 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 123 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 154 ff., 199. McFadyen, *Introd.* 264 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 419 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 115 ff. Moore, LOT, 233 ff. HDB, ii. 660 ff. (Davison); iv. 13b (Budde); 925b f. (Siegfried); extra vol. 730 f. (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 2465 ff. (Cheyne); iii. 3801 (Duhm); iv. 5333 f. (Toy). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Job, espec. Camb. B. (Davidson); West. C. (Gibson); Cen. B. (Peake); Bible Handbooks (Aitken). Strahan, Job. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 91 ff. Cheyne, Job and Sol. 11 ff., 71 ff. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, 158 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 340 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 202 ff. Schmidt, *Poets*, 75 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 363 ff., 500. Kent, Jew. People, 235 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 18 f., 507 f. Ryle, Canon, etc., 141 f. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 276 ff. Genung, *Epic of Inner Life*, espec. 102 ff. Davidson in *Book by Book*, 136 ff. G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 286. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 321 ff.

ized), cf. Deut. 12:1-28, in this Code is presupposed as already existing, cf. Lev. 17:1-9 (= H and P), also Lev. 1-7 (= P). (b) The priestly office, which according to Deuteronomy can be performed by any member of the tribe of Levi, on condition of his residence at the central sanctuary (Deut. 18:1-8; cf. 10:8 f., etc.) in P is limited to the descendants of Aaron (Lev. 7:32-34; Num. 18:8-20; cf. the function of the Levites, Num. 3:6 ff.; 18:2, etc.). (c) More definite provision is made for the support of the Levites in this Code than in the Deuteronomic (cf. Num. 18:21-32; 35:1-8, with Deut. 14:22-29. Cf. also Num. 18:17 f. with Deut. 12:6 f., 17 f.; 15:19 f., etc.). And (d) the system of feasts and sacrifices, as given in this Code, is more elaborate and defined with more exactness than in Deuteronomy. According to Driver, "the *impression* which a reader derives from Deuteronomy is that the liturgical institutions under which the author lived were of a simpler character than those prescribed in P."<sup>1</sup>

In connection with (d) above, note the following. In the Book of the Covenant [Ex. 20:20-23:19 (or 33)], *three* agricultural feasts are specified, the dates of celebrating which depend upon the seasons, e.g. Ex. 23:14-16 (cf. also Ex. 34:22). In Deut. there are also *three*, which are mainly agricultural, the first being in part historical (Deut. 16:1-17, see vss. 9, 13). In Lev. 23 (= H and P), there are *six* sacred seasons in addition to the Sabbath; two of which are agricultural (*i.e.* wave sheaf, vss. 9-14; and weeks, vss. 15-21); one partially so (*i.e.* booths, vss. 33-36, 39 ff.); the remainder being partly historical and partly purely religious. This seems to indicate a definite progress and difference of age in the origin of the several Codes. "We should expect that in the course of time feasts would be added, and for the sake of general convenience their dates more definitely fixed."<sup>2</sup>

*Secondly*, in some details the legislation of the Priestly Code marks an advance upon the constitution of the restored Jewish community, outlined in Ezek. 40-48 (= 572 B.C.), and hence points to a later stage of compilation. For example, in Ezek. 44:6-16, the Levites (who according to Deuteronomy have the privilege of performing priestly offices at the central sanctuary, cf. 18:1 ff.), it is stated, are to be deprived of this prerogative on account of their idolatry,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB. ii. 365b f. (Woods).

and are henceforth to perform the menial offices of the sanctuary (cf. vss. 10 f., 14). It is further added that in the future the "sons of Zadok," for their fidelity to Jehovah, are to have the exclusive priestly right (vs. 15). The inference from this seems clear *that the Levites are to be deprived of a privilege which they had enjoyed up to that time.* In the Priestly legislation, on the other hand, the distinction between the Levites and priests, as to their respective rank and prerogatives, is assumed, *e.g.* Num. chaps. 1-9 (cf. especially 3:5 ff.; 1:48 ff.). This leads to the conclusion that the legislation in the Priestly Code is later than Ezekiel.

*Thirdly*, the completed Priestly legal code, as compared with the Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26), represents a further progress in several of the laws (cf. pp. 186 f.). The inference from this fact for the later age of the Priestly Code is clear.

In harmony with the late date of the compilation of P, reference may also be made to the lofty conception of deity and other points of religious (theological) emphasis in this document; cf. pp. 17 f.

The natural conclusion from these facts is that the Priestly Code, in its present form, is not only later than the Deuteronomic Code, 621 B.C., but also subsequent to Ezekiel 40-48 (572 B.C.) and the Law of Holiness (c. 560-550? B.C.), which represents the earliest section of the Priestly Code to be compiled. Thus the late exilic or early post-exilic period is the time to which all the lines of evidence lead for the compilation of this Code, — a date which is almost universally held by Old Testament authorities to-day.

This conclusion for the date of the Priestly Code, from a comparison of its legal portions with other Codes, is confirmed by several lines of external evidence. Thus (*a*) the religious practices of pre-Deuteronomic times indicate a much simpler and less strict ritual than the provisions of this Code. In addition to the facts, which have previously been considered (cf. pp. 125 f., *c.*), that sacrifices were not limited to one place, nor confined to priestly officiators in that period (though such restrictions are presupposed in the Priestly Code, *e.g.* Lev. 17:3; Num. 18:1 f., etc., as well as Deuteronomy, cf. pp. 125 f.), is the inference from the narratives of the Ark at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1-3), viz. that its arrangements were of a simpler character than the descriptions of the Ark

in P (cf. Ex. 35-40; Num. 3-4). A number of the institutions prominent in P, such as the day of atonement (Lev. 16), Jubilee year (Lev. 25:8-13), sin offering (Lev. 6:24-30, etc.), etc., are not referred to in pre-exilic literature.

Note also the fact that the legislation of JE harmonizes with the religious customs and practices in the times of the Judges and the early monarchy; that D's laws correspond to the spirit and practice of the 7th century B.C. and following; while the laws of P express the legalizing tendency manifested in Ezekiel and in the period following the Return, c. 537 B.C.

The account of pre-exilic history given in Chronicles represents P as being in operation in that period, but that history is a late work and interprets past events from the standpoint of this later age. Cf. on Chronicles pp. 9 f.; cf. 63 ff., 67 f.

(b) The positive evidence that the first appearance of the Priestly law in history was in connection with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the year 445 (444) B.C., a legal code was read before a public gathering of the people of Jerusalem (cf. Neh. 8:1 ff.), which was either this Code or was a larger Code of which P was a part. That P was at least contained in it is undoubted from the details of the feast of booths, which was celebrated at that time (Neh. 8:13 ff.), in accordance with the provisions of P (and H; cf. Lev. 23:39-43), rather than with the ritual of Deuteronomy (cf. 16:13, 15), which makes no mention of dwelling in "booths" (cf. Neh. 8:14), nor of the *eighth* day (Neh. 8:18b). This last provision also seems to have been unknown to Solomon, who, according to the account in the book of Kings of the celebration of this feast (1 Ki. 8:65 f.) *dismissed the people on the eighth day* (i.e. in accordance with the law as known in Deut. 16:13-17).<sup>1</sup> The people also in the time of Ezra apparently had not previously known of this law as detailed in P (cf. Neh. 8:14, also 17). "The inference seems to be inevitable that the legislation of which it is a part had never been promulgated before."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe how the late Chronicler, who views the past from the standpoint of P, changed the representation given in Kings of the dismissal on the eighth day. In harmony with P he has "a solemn assembly" held on that day (cf. 2 Chr. 7:9).

<sup>2</sup> This point at least is clear, that this was the first occasion of which there is any record of the provisions of P being carried out in detail. Cf.

It may be noticed that references in post-exilic literature, before Ezra and Nehemiah, seem to imply that the Deut. Code was the only one in operation. This is inferred from such facts: (a) as found in Hag. 2: 11-13, where the people are referred to the priests for a point of legal interpretation, according to the directions in D (cf. Deut. 24: 8; also 17: 11), and not to a written law (cf. also Mal. 2: 7). Further (b) for the reason that Malachi employs the word *minḥah* to include sacrificial victims (cf. 1: 10 f., 13), a term which is restricted in P to "meal-offerings" (cf. in P from Ex. 29: 41 through the Hex. 101 times). Notice, however, that in other details, *e.g.* tithes and heave-offerings, Malachi approaches more closely P; cf. 3: 8, 10 with Num. 18: 21 ff. (P); Neh. 10: 35 ff., 38, and note the simpler provisions in Deut. 14: 23 ff., 27, 29; cf. 12: 11; 26: 12. It has accordingly been inferred that Malachi may "belong to an intermediate stage of practice out of which the regulations of P finally emerged." And (c) cf. also the reference in Malachi to the priests as "sons of Levi" (3: 3; 2: 4-8), which is in harmony with the usage in the Deut. Code (cf. p. 126, also p. 208).

The opinion of scholars is divided as to whether the Law which was read on this occasion (Neh. 8: 1 ff.) contained all the Pentateuch (or all its legal codes, *i.e.* the combination of the Book of the Covenant, D and P), or the Priestly Code alone, including the historical material in P. In favor of the former view are Ryle, Kittel, Hunter, W. R. Smith, Woods, Wade, etc. As favoring the second view may be mentioned, Bennett, Kautzsch, McFadyen, Gray, Budde, Cornill, CHB, Hex., Kent, Chapman, etc.<sup>1</sup>

And (c) a further point may also be alluded to as confirming this date, viz. that whereas previous to 444 B.C. there is no allusion in literature to the Priestly Code, nor marked evidence of its influence, subsequent to this date, and in connection with the reforms of this period, these laws are presupposed in the Old Testament literature.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. especially the influence of P on the Chronicler, *i.e.* in the parts of Chr. and Ezra-Nehemiah, which belong to the compiler (Ch.), cf. pp. 63 f., 67, 201, 203 f.<sup>3</sup>

*e.g.* HDB, iii. 108b (Harford-Battersby). For a different view, cf. Davies, Ezra, etc., 8 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. summary of opinions on this subject in CHB, Hex. i. 139, n. d. EBi, iii. 2741 (Gray).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a parallel argument in reference to Deuteronomy, p. 127, *e.*

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that instances in the earlier historical literature of the influence of Priestly phraseology (*e.g.* in 1 Sam. 2: 22b; 1 Ki. 8: 1, 5, etc.) are now regarded as the work of late compilers. See partial list, pp. 267 f., v. k.



While the cumulation of evidence is confirmatory of this late date of P, the reader is again reminded of the distinction between the date of the compilation of any document and the age of its constituent parts. The Priestly Code is to be thought of as representing a long process of development. That a Priestly ritual in some form existed in pre-exilic times (a law, however, which was not accessible to the people or known by them) seems clear from references in Deuteronomy (cf. 17:11 and 24:8). The Prophetic document also (JE), in its description of the Mosaic age, mentions the "tent of meeting" (*e.g.* Ex. 33:7-11; Num. 11:16 ff., 24 ff.; 12:4 ff.; Deut. 31:14 f.). Mention is also made of different priestly institutions in early history, *e.g.* unclean food (Judg. 13:4, 7; cf. Lev. 11:2 ff. = P); Nazirites (Judg. 13:5, 7; 16:17; Am. 2:11 f.; cf. Num. 6:2 ff. = P); shew-bread (1 Sam. 21:6; cf. Lev. 24:5-9 = P), etc. These facts indicate that such matters of priestly interest were ancient, even though undoubtedly the ritual connected with them was originally of a simpler character than in the form in which it exists in the present Priestly Code.

The antiquity of certain priestly rites and regulations is shown by the Deuteronomic Code in which they are also found. Thus (a) the prohibition of eating blood (Deut. 12:16, 23; cf. P = Gen. 9:4; Lev. 3:17; 7:26 f., etc.); also (b) the flesh of animals dying of themselves (Deut. 14:21; cf. P or H = Lev. 17:15; cf. JE = Ex. 22:31) and especially (c) the distinction between clean and unclean meats [Deut. 14:4-20; cf. Lev. 11:2b-23 (P); Judg. 13:14].

Of the different institutions of P the laws relating to the priesthood appear to have been among the latest in gaining a permanent form. In early times, as has already been noticed (cf. pp. 125 f.), officiators at sacrifices were not limited to one class of men. At the same time there is evidence which indicates that the tribe of Levi was regarded as being specially qualified for this office (*e.g.* Judg. 17:13; Deut. 33:10; Mic. 3:11). In the Deuteronomic Code this is formally expressed (cf. 12:5 ff.; 16:1 ff.; 10:8), though the pre-eminence of the Aaronic family in the line of Zadok is also recognized (10:6; cf. Aaron, Ex. 4:14 = R<sup>JE</sup>; 18:12 = E, etc.). In Ezekiel (44:6 ff., cf. above, pp. 242 f.) it is stated that the Levites are to be deprived of priestly

prerogatives, which are to be exercised alone by the descendants of Zadok (vss. 15 ff.). In P this distinction between priests and Levites is formally enacted.

As the Exile furnished an occasion for a reinterpretation and revision of much of the previous, historical writings, from the standpoint of D, in like manner it furnished to the priesthood an incentive to preserve and reformulate the laws especially relating to ritual. And just as the Deuteronomic Code was designed to meet the needs of the seventh century, by recasting the Mosaic principles to meet the conditions of that age, so at this later time the Priestly Code was formulated to conserve the religious interests of that critical period in Israel's history, and to serve as a guide for the future. This was done, partly by incorporating ancient laws and matters pertaining to ritual (which were naturally regarded as Mosaic, since their origin was lost in antiquity); partly by expanding and recasting the law and sacred custom handed down from the past, together with a priestly interpretation of the traditions relating to the early periods of history.

"All that was implied by or deduced from the teaching of Moses was held to be Mosaic, just as we call all that is implied by or deduced from the teaching of Christ, Christian."<sup>1</sup>

These facts serve to explain the literary setting of the Priestly Code, *i.e.* that it was attributed to Moses and was written apparently from the standpoint of his day.<sup>2</sup> For as Bennett has well said: "it was not a new law, but rather as it professed to be, an exposition of ancient tradition and custom. Naturally the form in which ancient principles are applied is determined by contemporaneous needs, and involves novel details."<sup>3</sup>

The following statement by Driver admirably summarizes the modern view regarding the composition of P: "It is probable that P was written partly during the Babylonian Exile, partly during the century that followed the return to Judah."<sup>4</sup> About 500 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Bennett, *Introd.* 59. Cf. LOT, 154. Adeney, *Ezra*, etc., 281 ff. Kent, *Lawgivers*, 12 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the statement made in reference to Deuteronomy, pp. 129 f.

<sup>3</sup> Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 84. Cf. his *Introd.* 24. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 221, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Driver, *Ex.* p. xii.

is the date quite generally given for the completion of the main body of the Code. See also p. 266, v. *a*.

That the Priestly Code was not promulgated till 445 (444) B.C. was probably due to the fact that that was the first favorable opportunity for such action, owing to the various troubles and difficulties of the Jewish community at Jerusalem, during the first century after the Restoration. During all this time it may have been subject to various additions and modification, as even subsequent to 444 B.C. there is evidence of further changes in the details of some of the laws.<sup>1</sup>

Whether the Law read by Ezra (cf. Neh. 8:1 ff.) in 445 (444) B.C. contained the legislation of the whole Pentateuch, or simply the Priestly Code (cf. pp. 244 f.), it seems evident that subsequently certain changes were made in some of the laws of the latter. Thus (*a*) the law relating to the poll-tax is one of these. For, according to Neh. 10:32, a third of a shekel was the amount assessed in Nehemiah's day, but in the law as now expressed in P, a half a shekel is the regulation (cf. Ex. 30:11-16; cf. also the custom in N. Test. times, Matt. 17:24). (*b*) The tithe for the support of the priesthood enforced by Nehemiah (Neh. 10:35-39 and 13:10-14) seems clearly a vegetable one (cf. 10:37, 39; 13:5, 12). This is in accordance with the directions in D (cf. Deut. 14:22-28; 26:12-15) and the custom referred to in Mal. 3:8-11; also in a part of P (cf. Num. 18). But in Lev. 27:32 f. (P also), a tithe upon the flocks and herds is also called for. This marks a distinct advance upon the previous regulation, and the natural inference is that it belongs later than Nehemiah's day (cf. 2 Chr. 31:6), etc.

Cf. the statement of Moore in reference to the long range of time represented by the different elements in P. "The older laws in P go back, substantially in their present shape, to the days of the kingdom, and in many cases represent a prescriptive usage which is of remote antiquity; while the latest additions to P were made at a time so recent that they had not found entry into the copies from which the earliest Greek version was made in the third century B.C." <sup>2</sup>

For a classification of the different strata in P, cf. p. 266, v. *a*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is the common view that P was formulated in Babylonia. Cf. an excellent statement of the probability of this conclusion, Cornill, *Introd.* 114. For the theory that this codification was made in Palestine, cf. Moore, *LOT*, 55 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Moore, *LOT*, 65 f. See this vol. p. 266, v. *a*. (*d*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of the Priestly

## 5. DIDACTIC LITERATURE. THE BOOK OF RUTH

The book of Ruth is without any chronological heading. The following are the facts from which the date has to be inferred: (a) the time of the Judges has passed (cf. 1:1), also David (4:17); (b) the marriage custom described in 4:1-12 is referred to as obsolete at the time when the book was written (cf. vs. 7). This custom was evidently well known when Deuteronomy was compiled = 7th century B.C. (cf. 25:5-10), though there is difference of details in the two descriptions, due possibly to "popular recollection" by the author of Ruth. Hence a date subsequent to Deuteronomy for the book of Ruth is a natural inference.

It is claimed, however, by Driver and others that Ruth 4:7 is a later addition to the book, and hence is not to be considered in determining the time of its origin.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The traces of Aramaic influence in the language point to the post-exilic age; (d) the position of the book in the Hebrew Canon, viz. in the third division (*i.e.* the Hagiographa) argues also for its late origin. If it were an early writing, it would probably have been included in the second division of the Canon (*i.e.* the Prophets).<sup>2</sup> And (e) in harmony with an age much later than the setting of the story

Code, LOT, 135 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 22 ff., 53 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 106 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 72 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 92 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 32 ff., 39 ff. Moore, LOT, 54 ff., 64 ff. Chapman, *Introd.* Pent., espec. 110-191. HDB, ii. 363 ff. (Woods); iii. 70 ff. (Driver); iv. 653 ff. (Kennedy); extra vol. 715 ff. (Kautzsch); cf. also arts. on Ex., Lev. and Num. in HDB (Harford-Battersby). EBi, ii. 2045 ff., 2050 ff. (Cheyne and Wellhausen); 2256 ff. (Guthe); iii. 2730 ff., 2739 ff. (Gray); cf. arts. on Ex., Lev. and Num. in EBi (Moore). CHB, Hex. i. 121-157. Kent, *Isr. Laws and Precedents*, 43 ff. Ryle, *Canon, etc.*, 27 ff., 71 f., 75 ff. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 374 ff., 419 ff., 442 ff. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 265 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 4 f., 400 ff. Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* i. 96 ff., 107 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, espec. 212 ff., 243 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 5 f., 141 ff., 492 ff. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 72 ff. Kent, *Lawgivers*, espec. 30 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 257 f. Bennett, *Primer, etc.*, 83 ff. Fowler, *Hist. Lit., etc.*, 293 f. Cf. also *Intros.* in *Comms. on Ex.-Num.*; e.g. on *Ex.* West. C. (McNeile); Camb. B. (Driver); Cen. B. (Bennett); on *Lev.* SBOT (Driver and White); Camb. B. (Chapman and Streane); Cen. B. = *Lev.-Num.* (Kennedy); on *Num.* *Int. Crit.* (Gray); Camb. B. (McNeile).

<sup>1</sup> LOT, 455. Cf. Bennett, *Introd.* 88.

<sup>2</sup> The position of Ruth in the E. V. after Judges follows the LXX order.

is the idealistic view which is presented in Ruth of the rough and turbulent period of the Judges.

Further evidence of the idealizing element is seen in the names in the book, *e.g.* Mahlon (1:2 = "sickness"); Chilion (1:2 = "pining" or "vanishing"), etc.

Other reasons for the late date of Ruth are: (f) the fact that while the pre-exilic historical books have all passed through the hands of the Deuteronomic compiler in the Exile (cf. p. 193, ii. 3. c.), Ruth has not. From this it is inferred that it is a post-exilic production; (g) further, it is claimed that the expression "in the days when the judges judged" (1:1) is based on the R<sup>P</sup> addition to Judges (= exilic), *e.g.* Judg. 2:16.

An argument that the composition of Ruth was late has also been derived (h) from the genealogy in 4:18-22, on account of its affinities with the phraseology of P (cf. Gen. 5:1, 6 ff.; 11:10 ff.), which favors the post-exilic period. On the other hand, a number of scholars are of the opinion that these closing verses of Ruth are a later addition to the book (cf. 1 Chr. 2:10-17), and hence are not to be considered in determining the date.

In view of these facts, the general trend of opinion among Old Testament scholars to-day is in favor of a post-exilic date. While the exact occasion in this period cannot be determined with certainty, the following view has found wide acceptance among scholars: viz. that this book (in its present form) was written as a protest against the measures of Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezra, chaps. 9 f.; Neh. 13:23-29), prohibiting marriage with the foreign women of the neighboring peoples, by showing how one of David's ancestors was a Moabitess (4:17; cf. Neh. 13:23), thus indicating the lofty character of some at least of the women of the surrounding nations.<sup>1</sup>

The significance of the book of Ruth from this standpoint is emphasized by comparing it with the regulation in Deut. 23:3, which "means that if a Moabite becomes a settler (client) in Israel, his descendants shall never acquire full rights of citizenship."<sup>2</sup>

This purpose of the book of Ruth, though it cannot be proved, supplies at least a reasonable occasion for its writing,

<sup>1</sup> For a different view of the purpose of the book, cf. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 99. HDB, iv. 316b (Redpath).

<sup>2</sup> H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 398, n. 1.

and so may be accepted tentatively. A date accordingly c. 450 or c. 430 B.C. may be assigned for its composition.

Cf. the possibility that the main details of the story may come from pre-exilic times. Cf. p. 53, *B.* iii. *d.*<sup>1 2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For arguments in favor of a pre-exilic date for Ruth, cf. LOT, 454 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Ruth, LOT, 453 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 87 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 129 f., 197. McFadyen, *Introd.* 290 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 254 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 108 ff. Moore, LOT, 136 ff. HDB, iv. 316 (Redpath). EBi, ii. 2087 (Moore); 4166 ff. (W. R. Smith and Cheyne). H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 398 f., 500. Kent, *United Kingd.* 57. Kent, *Jew. People*, 117, 188. Wade, O. T. Hist. 9 f., 223. Kent, *Beginnings, etc.*, 27 f., 310 ff. McFadyen, *Hists.* 335 ff. Moore, *Judges*, xxxii. Thatcher, *Judges, etc.*, 175 ff. Hunter, *After Exile*, ii. 40 ff. Ryle, *Canon, etc.*, 142 f. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, xvi, 220 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 86 f., 257. Bennett, *Primer, etc.*, 98 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit., etc.*, 309 ff.

- IX. B. NARRATIVES AND LITERATURE OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED, 538-332 B.C. Historical narratives = Ezra-Nehemiah. Prophecies = Haggai; Zechariah 1-8; Malachi; Isaiah 56-66 (?); Obadiah; Isaiah 34-35 (?); Joel; Isaiah 24-27 (?). Poetical writings = individual psalms and compilation of Psalms 3-89; Job. Legal literature = compilation of the Priestly Code (P). Didactic tales = the book of Ruth <sup>1</sup>

### SECTION I, 538-516 (515) B.C.

- i. *Sources for the history of the Jews, 538-516 (515 B.C.).*
  - Ezra 1. The return under Sheshbazzar, etc. (with vss. 1-4, cf. 2 Chr. 36: 22 f.; also Ezra, 6: 3-5; 5: 14 f.). 538-537 B.C.
  2. List of returned Exiles and their gifts (cf. Neh. 7: 6-73a). c. 538 ff. B.C.
  - 3: 1-4: 5 + vs. 24. Building of altar; Samaritan obstruction, etc. c. 537-520 B.C.
  - 5: 1-6: 22. Building of the Temple; its dedication, etc. 520 (519)-516 (515) B.C.
- ii. *Literary productions, 538-516 (515) B.C.*
  1. *Prophetic messages of Haggai and Zechariah* (= 1: 1-6). 520 B.C.
    - Hag. 1. Zerubbabel and Joshua exhorted to build the Temple, etc. Aug.-Sept. 520 B.C.
    - 2: 1-9. Prediction of the future glory of the Temple. Sept.-Oct. 520 B.C.
  - Zech. 1: 1-6. An exhortation to repent, etc. Oct.-Nov. 520 B.C.
  - Hag. 2: 10-23. Questions of ceremonial, etc. Nov.-Dec. 520 B.C.
  2. *Prophetic messages of Zechariah, chaps. 1: 7-8: 23.* 519-518 B.C.
    - Chaps. 1: 7-6: 8. Eight visions of encouragement, etc. Jan.-Feb. 519 B.C.
    - 6: 9-15. The High Priest (?) crowned, etc.
    - 7-8. Question of fasts; promise of Jerusalem's prosperity, etc. Nov.-Dec. 518 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> For other literature which has been assigned to this period by different authorities, cf. pp. 253, ii. 3; 255 f., ii. 2; 264 f., iv. 6, 10-13; 270, ii. 4.

3. *Other literature possibly originating during the period, 538–516 B.C.*

a. According to Kirkpatrick the following psalms belong with more or less probability to the time immediately after the Return, c. 536 B.C. = Pss. 92–93; 95–100; 103–104; 107(?); 113–115; 117(?); 137–138. Also 86 and 111–112 = after the Return (cf. 86:13), but nothing to determine the definite date.

b. According to the same authority the following psalms belong to 520–516 B.C. Pss. 85 and 87 // Zech. 1:12 ff. = c. 520 B.C. Pss. 30 and 95–100 = possibly at the dedication of the Temple, 516 B.C.

c. According to Briggs the following 33 psalms date from the period 536–516 B.C. = Pss. 4; 6; 9–12; 14 (= 53); 16–17; 22; 25; 31–32; 34–35; 37–39; 41; 57:1–4; 59; 64; 69:1 f., 4, 6, 13b–18, 29–31; 70 (= 40:13–17); 75–76; 78; 80; 83; 101; 109:1b, 2b, 3a, 5b, 16–18, 21–27; 140; 143; 144:1–2a + c, 7c, 8–11.<sup>1</sup>

d. Some of the other literature assigned to this period is as follows:—

(a) Zeph. 3:14–20 = c. 536 ff. B.C., according to Kautzsch.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Isa. 19:1–15 = soon after 528 B.C. (cf. p. 97, n.<sup>1</sup>) according to Cheyne.<sup>3</sup>

(c) Isa. 63:7–64:12 = c. 525 B.C. (see p. 212; p. 260, v. a.) = G. A. Smith, Whitehouse, Wade.<sup>4</sup>

(d) Isa. 24–27. c. 520(?) B.C. Cf. Driver, Kirkpatrick, etc.<sup>5</sup>

(e) Isa. 2:2–4 (// Mic. 4:1–3). c. 518–516 B.C. (see p. 144, iii. d.) = H. P. Smith.<sup>6</sup>

iii. *Composition of the historical sources and literary productions, 538–516 (515) B.C.*

a. In indicating sources of the historical narratives in Ezra–Neh., Ch. = the Chronicler; E = Ezra's Memoirs; and N = Nehemiah's Memoirs.

b. Ezra 1 = Ch. or material recast by Ch. 3:1–4:5 + 24 and 6:19–22 = Ch.

c. The list in Ezra 2 (// Neh. 7:6–73a) may have been derived

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Briggs, Psal. i. pp. lxxxix ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 61, 195. See p. 157, v. d. of this vol.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2198 (Cheyne), etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 494 f. (G. A. Smith). Whitehouse, Isa.; and Wade, Isa. in loc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ref. Skinner, Isa. i. pp. 204 f. LOT, 221 (= early post-exilic). Driver, Isa. Life and Times (2nd ed.), 119. Kirkpatrick, Doct. Prophs. 490 f. (cf., however, on p. 535 = date for this prophecy, c. 485 ff. B.C.). See further this vol. 220 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 359.



from some official register and incorporated by Ch. According to some scholars it was recast by Ch. See also iv. b., below.

d. The source of Ezra 5:1-6:18 is Aramaic. By many it is regarded as partially Ch. According to McFadyen, however, the influence of Ch. is "in the main formal rather than material."<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Introdu.* and *Comms.* in loc.

e. Zech. 2:6-13, which is the only poetic passage among the visions, is regarded by some scholars as reflecting the condition at the close of the Exile, i.e. 20 years earlier. Cf. (a) the fact that the Return is spoken of as being still future (vss. 6 f.); also (b) alone among the visions it describes Jehovah's return to Zion as still future (vs. 10); (c) parallels to exilic literature, e.g. Isa. 54:2 f.; 14:1 f.; and (d) no reference to the Temple. On the other hand this section may be explained as Zechariah's allusion to the *Jews still in Exile*. Cf. *Introdu.* and *Comms.* in loc. Bennett, *Post. Exil. Prophs.* 64.

f. Zech. 4:6b-10a interrupts the narrative of the vision. By some it is considered a prophecy of Zechariah, belonging "to an earlier stage of the building of the Temple" inserted here at, or after, the time of the compilation of the book. See below, iv. h.

g. Zech. 8 is made up of ten short messages, viz. vss. 1-2; 3; 4-5; 6; 7-8; 9-13; 14-17; 18-19; 20-22 and vs. 23. See further, iv. i., below.

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The beginning of this period dates from 538 B.C., when Babylon was captured by Cyrus, and the Jews, in common with other exiled peoples, were granted permission to return to their own land (Ezra 1). The date of the close of this period, 333 (332) B.C., = the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great (cf. pp. 300 f.). 516 (515) = the year in which the Temple was completed [Ezra 6:15 = 6th year of Darius, 522 (521)-486 (485) B.C.]. 520 (519) B.C. is derived from Ezra 4:24 = 2nd year of Darius. The celebration of the Passover, Ezra 6:19 ff. = Mch.-Apr. 516 (515) B.C. (cf. vs. 19 with vs. 15. See on the mo. p. 205).

b. The list of returned Exiles, Ezra 2 (// Neh. 7:6-73a), evidently represents not simply those who returned c. 538 B.C., but as well those of later date. Cf. Nehemiah (2:2); Seraiah (2:2) = Azariah (Neh. 7:7) = Ezra (?), 444 and 458 B.C. (Cf., however, Ezra 7:1, where Seraiah = Ezra's father.) As Nehemiah and Ezra stand near the head of the list (vs. 2), the following names probably = leaders of other subsequent, returning bands of Jews. Cf. *Introdu.* and *Comms.* in loc. for further discussion; also pp. 268 f., iii. b.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McFadyen, *Hists.* 315.

c. On the questions of the historical character of the Return (Ezra 1), and of laying the foundation of the Temple (3:8 ff.), see Intros. and Comms. in loc., especially G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, ii. 204 ff., 215 ff.

d. If the date in Ezra 3:1 (= building of the altar) is accepted, the 7th mo. (Sept. -Oct.) is probably that of the year of the Return, 538 (537) B.C. By many, however, 3:1 is regarded as simply an adaptation of Neh. 7:73b by Ch.

(Note also the view that 2:70-4:3 + 24b relate events in the second year of Darius, 520 (519) B.C. Cf. Batten, Ezra etc., 37 ff.).

e. For the chronological setting of Ezra 4:6-23, cf. p. 258 f., iii. c.

f. For the months given above in Hag. and Zech. cf. pp. 204 ff.

g. It is to be noted that Zech. 1:7-6:9 belong to a time when serious rebellions convulsed the Persian dominion. Cf. espec. G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, ii. 284.

h. Zech. 6:9-15 is undated. As the building of the Temple is referred to as a future event (vs. 12) this message (cf. also 4:6b-10a, see above, iii. f.) may belong to c. Sept. 520 B.C., i.e. the initial period of Temple building. Note the reference in Ezra (cf. 5:1; 6:14) to the fact that both Zechariah and Haggai were instrumental in inducing the people to build on this occasion.

i. It is uncertain whether all the short prophecies, which make up Zech. 8 (cf. above, iii. g.) belong to the same date as chap. 7 or not. Some, which represent the coming of Jehovah to Zion as still future, may be parallel in time to Haggai's utterances. The close of the chap. (vss. 18 ff.) takes up again the question of fasts, cf. chap. 7, and hence is to be assigned probably to the same time. Cf. Intros. and Comms. in loc.

## SECTION II, 516 (515)-458 (457) B.C.

i. *The period 516 (515)-458 (457) B.C.* No narratives relating to these years given in Ezra-Nehemiah except Ezra 4:6. Cf. iv. a, below.

ii. *Literary productions, 516-458 B.C.*

1. *Prophetic messages of Malachi, c. 460 B.C.*

Chap. 1. Jehovah's love for Israel and Israel's selfishness, etc.

2:1-16. An expression of judgment upon the unworthy priests, etc.

2:17-4:6. The coming of Jehovah's messenger to purify, etc.

2. *Other literature assigned to this period by different scholars.*

- a. The compilation of the Priestly Code (P), c. 500 B.C.<sup>1</sup>
- b. The composition of the Servant passages in Deut.-Isa. (= Isa. 42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9 and 52:13-53:12), 500-450 B.C. = Duhm, Cheyne, etc.<sup>2</sup>
- c. The original Job story. (The only portions of which that have been preserved are found in the present book of Job, viz. chaps. 1-2; 42:7-17). *E.g.* Cheyne, etc.<sup>3</sup>
- d. The prophecy of Joel, c. 500 B.C. (though possibly in the 4th century B.C. = Driver).<sup>4</sup>
- e. The book of Job, 500-450 B.C. = Duhm.<sup>5</sup>
- f. Zech. 9-14, c. 485 ff. (?) B.C. = Kirkpatrick.<sup>6</sup>

iii. *Composition of the literary productions, 516-458 B.C.*

a. Mal. 2:11-13a are regarded as an interpolation by some scholars, as vs. 13b connects directly with vs. 10. The language and thought of vss. 11 f. differ from the context. These verses may have been a note added later by the prophet himself, or by an editor, after the reforms by Ezra and Nehemiah, explaining the cause of divorce. From this standpoint vs. 13a is an editorial connection of the two sections. Cf. *Intros. and Comms.* in loc. Cf. contra, J. M. P. Smith, Mal. in loc.

b. Some scholars consider Mal. 4:4, 5 f. as later additions (J. M. P. Smith, Kent, Moore's LOT, 215). Cf. contra, Cornill, *Introd.* 375.

iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. 516 (515) B.C. = the year in which the Temple was completed (p. 254, iv. a.). 458 B.C. = the date of Ezra's mission to Jerusalem (p. 258, iii. a.). Though no records of this period are found in Ezra-Neh., the condition of the Jews during those years can be inferred with much certainty from (a) the narratives relating to Ezra and Nehemiah and (b) allusions in the prophetic writings, which belong to that time and the years following, *e.g.* Malachi and Isa. 56 ff. Briefly stated, it was a period of

<sup>1</sup> This date for the compilation of P, or at least the main part of it [= Pg, cf. p. 266, v. a. (c)], is a conclusion which is widely accepted.

<sup>2</sup> EBi, ii. 2486 (Cheyne); iii. 3801 (Duhm), etc. See further pp. 198 f., iii. k.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2486 (Cheyne). Gordon, *Poets, etc.*, 207. Schmidt, *Poets*, 97 f., 80 ff. = 5th cen. B.C. Cornill, *Introd.* 435 = post-exilic. See further, p. 271, iii. f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Driver, Joel, etc., 25. For the chron. setting given to Joel in this vol. see 268, ii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3801 (Duhm). For the chron. setting of Job in this vol. see p. 270, ii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 442 ff., 455, 535. For the chron. setting for Zech. 9-14 in this vol. see 302, iii. 1.

disappointment and reaction. The Jews formed a small, dependent community of the Persian empire. Surrounded by hostile tribes (Ammonites, Edomites, Samaritans, etc.); oppressed by poverty; disappointed in their religious expectations in connection with the completion of the Temple, 516 (515) B.C., their religious ideals suffered correspondingly, — the Temple was neglected; a spirit of scepticism was developed among some; sordid and selfish aims gained ascendancy, which were manifest especially in an attempt to better their position by divorcing their wives and forming marriage alliances with the women of the land (cf. Malachi). There is but one direct Biblical, historical reference made to this period, viz. the mention of an accusation against the Jews of Judah and Jerusalem, brought by their enemies to the Persian court, in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, *i.e.* c. 485 B.C. (cf. Ezra 4:6; see p. 258, iii. c.).

b. The following are some of the variant dates for Malachi.  
c. 460–450 B.C. = Davidson, McFadyen, Bennett (cf. his *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 96 f.), etc. Shortly before 445 B.C. (= Nehemiah's day); cf. H. P. Smith, Kent, Cheyne, etc. Between 445 and 432, or c. 432 B.C. (= Nehemiah's 2nd visit to Jerusalem); cf. Driver, Kirkpatrick, Hunter, Farrar, etc. First half of the 4th cen. B.C. = EBi, iii. 2909 f. (W. R. Smith and Torrey), etc.

### SECTION III, 458 (457)–445 (444) B.C.

- i. *Sources for the history of the Jews, 458 (457)–445 (444) B.C.*  
Ezra 7:1–26. The coming of Ezra to Jerusalem; his commission, etc. Mch.-Apr. — July-Aug. 458 B.C. ?  
7:27–8:36. Details of preparation; those accompanying Ezra, etc.  
9–10. Ezra's vigorous reform measures, etc. 458–457 B.C.  
4:(6), 7–23. Samaritans prevent building of city walls, etc.  
c. 455 B.C. or shortly before 445 B.C. (Vs. 6 = c. 485 B.C.)

- ii. *Composition of the historical sources, 458–445 B.C.*  
a. In Ezra 7–10 the following sections are the work of the Chronicler (Ch.) = 7:1–10 (11); 8:35 f. (?). See also below, under *b* and *c*.  
b. Ezra 7:(11), 12–26 belongs to the Aramaic source, though probably recast by a Jewish writer. "In substance it is undoubtedly genuine." Also 4:8–23 = Aramaic source (cf., however, McFadyen, who considers vss. 17–23 = Ch.). 4:6 f., which are in Hebrew, are of uncertain source.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See McFadyen, *Hists.* 326 f. For a conservative estimate of the Aramaic sources, cf. Davies, *Ezra*, etc., 14 f.

c. Ezra 7:27-9:15 = Ezra's Memoirs (E); note the 1st person. (Some, however, consider much in this section as Ch.; see Batten, Ezra, etc.) Cf. chap. 10 = E recast by Ch. Note the 3rd person used of Ezra.

### iii. *Chronological notes.*

a. The dates 458-445 B.C. are respectively the coming of Ezra (7:7 f. = 7th year of Artaxerxes) and the mission of Nehemiah (Neh. 1:1; 2:1 = 20th year of Artaxerxes). It may be added that Darius was succeeded by Xerxes in 485 B.C. and Xerxes by Artaxerxes, 465 (464)-425 (424) B.C. In Ezra 7:7 ff., the months given are the 1st = Mch.-Apr., when Ezra's expedition left Babylon; and the 5th mo. = July-Aug., when it reached Jerusalem (7:8 f.; 8:31). The events of chap. 9 may be 3 or 4 mos. later than those of the preceding chap. The dates given in chap. 10 = 9th mo. (Nov.-Dec. cf. vs. 9), *i.e.* 4 mos. after Ezra's arrival (cf. 7:8), and the 1st mo. of the following year (Mch.-Apr. 457 B.C., cf. 10:17).

b. It is the view of a number of scholars now that Ezra's expedition has been antedated, and that it should follow not precede that of Nehemiah. If this view is correct, it necessitates a rearranging of the Biblical sequence of events as given in Ezra-Neh. to a considerable extent. While the traditional order is followed in this volume, it is with a recognition of the strong arguments for the other view. For the grounds for the priority of Nehemiah's mission, together with the outline of the Biblical material of Ezra-Neh. from this standpoint, cf. Ap. A., pp. 327-329.

c. The section Ezra 4:6-23 is generally considered chronologically misplaced for the following reasons: (a) this section refers to Xerxes and Artaxerxes (vs. 6, "Ahasuerus" = Xerxes; cf. 7, 11, 23), see above, n. a; while the context refers to Cyrus and Darius (vss. 3 f., 24); (b) this section describes the successful opposition to the attempt of the Jews to build the city walls (vss. 12 f., 21 ff.), while the context refers to antagonism against building the Temple (vss. 3 f., 24). The exact historical occasion is a subject of dispute. The order followed here is based upon the supposition that the opposition arose from an attempt by Ezra to build the city walls after his reforms (cf. chaps. 9 f.), perhaps soon after 458 B.C., or shortly before 445 B.C. This order, it is claimed, helps to explain the difficulties of the Biblical chronological setting of Ezra's mission, on the ground that this hostility on the part of the Samaritans (Ezra 4:7-23) was assisted by those Jews within the city, who were bitterly opposed to Ezra on the question of mixed marriages. By their united efforts the work on the walls (vss. 12 f.) was not only stopped, but Ezra himself and

those associated with him were compelled to leave the city. This would explain the silence in reference to Ezra, and also might account for the fact that his reforms are not mentioned by Nehemiah, as they had ended in failure. According to some scholars, the allusions in Neh. 1 f. to disasters which had befallen the holy city, are to be explained as due to the forcible interruption of the work on the walls, possibly leading to the demolition in part of what had already been built (Ezra 4:23). Cf. further *Introsds.* and *Comms.* in loc.

d. No reference is found in pre-exilic Biblical literature, or the Assyrian, to the transportation of nations to Samaria mentioned in Ezra 4:10. The "Osnappar" of this verse is identified (a) by many with Asshurbanipal of Assyria, 668-626 B.C. (Sayce, etc.); (b) by others he is considered to be Esarhaddon of Assyria, 680-668 B.C., on account of the fact that in 4:2 that king is mentioned as bringing colonists to Samaria. There is no valid reason, however, why these two vss. should not refer to two distinct events in different reigns. Cf. *Comms.* in loc.

iv. *Literary productions*, 458-445 B.C.

1. *Prophetic messages of Isaiah* 56-66 (*Trito-Isaiah*), c. 460-445 (?) B.C.

Chap. 56:1-8. Promise to proselytes and eunuchs, etc.

56:9-57:21. Suffering of the community from unworthy, spiritual leaders, etc.

58. Contrast between false and true fasting, etc.

59. Explanation of failure of divine help, etc.

60. Promise of restoration, etc.

61. The prophet's endowment, etc.

62. Confidence that Israel's fortunes will be restored, etc.

63:1-6. Jehovah's vengeance upon Edom.

(63:7-64:12. Jehovah's past favors to His people; their rebellion, etc.)

65. Jehovah's vengeance against devotees of superstition (Samaritans?).

66. True and false conditions of worship contrasted, etc.

2. *Other literature which possibly belongs to 460-445 B.C.*

a. Malachi, shortly before 445 B.C. = J. M. P. Smith, Kent, H. P. Smith.<sup>1</sup>

b. Obadiah, the same time as Malachi = Kent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. M. P. Smith, *Mal.*; Kent, *Sermons*, etc.; H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* For the chron. setting of Mal. in this vol. cf. p. 255, ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, *Ibid.* See also this vol. p. 264, iv. 3.

v. *Composition of the literary productions and chronological notes*, 458-445 B.C.

a. For a more detailed discussion of the different sections of Isa. 56-66, in addition to the introductory notes (pp. 208-212), the reader is referred to the *Intros.*, *Comms.* and *Bible Dicts.* in loc. (see list, p. 212 n.<sup>2</sup>). One portion, however, may be noticed here, viz. 63:7-64:12 in reference to the date of which great diversity of opinion exists. From 63:18 and 64:11 f. (= the Temple burned) it might naturally be inferred that it is exilic, though the reference to the land being possessed but a little time (63:18, — note, however, that this reading by some is considered uncertain), does not harmonize with this date. G. A. Smith favors the years of disillusion between the Restoration and the beginning of the Temple building, c. 537-520 B.C. (*i.e.* c. 525 B.C.). The despair expressed in this section may well answer, he thinks, the spirit which Haggai and Zechariah had to combat. Cf. also Whitehouse and Wade.<sup>1</sup> Cheyne, on the other hand, refers the section to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, 358-337 B.C., on the ground of parallels of phraseology to Isa. 24-27 and Pss. 74, 79, which he regards as belonging to that time. The burning of the Temple (64:11 f.) he assumes to have occurred in connection with the rebellions in the West, in which Palestine was involved in the reign of Artaxerxes (cf. pp. 273 f., iv. a.). He accordingly dates it between 348-340 B.C. G. A. Smith considers the argument strong but not convincing.<sup>2</sup> Kent, who formerly dated this section in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus,<sup>3</sup> in his recent publications assigns it to the same date as chaps. 56 ff., *i.e.* prior to 445 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

#### SECTION IV, 445 (444)-433 (432) B.C.

i. *Sources for the history of the Jews* 445 (444)-433 (432) B.C.

Neh. 1. Nehemiah's distress learning of the condition of Jerusalem, etc. 445 B.C.

2. His commission; incites the people of Jerusalem to rebuild the walls, etc. Mch.-Apr. 445 B.C.

3. Apportionment of the work, etc. June-July, 445 B.C.

4. Samaritan ridicule and intimidation, etc.

5. Measures for relieving social distress, etc.

6:1-7:5. Plots against Nehemiah; completion of the walls, etc. Aug.-Sept. 445 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 494 f. (G. A. Smith); Whitehouse and Wade, *Comms.* on Isa. in loc. See this vol. p. 253, ii. 3. d. (c).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2207 (Cheyne). Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* xxxi, 349 ff., 358 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, *Jew. People*, 114 f., 234; Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 305 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 390 ff.

7:6-73a. A list of returned Exiles, etc. (// Ezra 2:1-70).  
 7:73b-10:39. The Law and the covenant. Sept.-Oct.  
 445 (?) B.C.

11. Measures for increasing the citizenship of Jerusalem, etc.

12:1-26. List of Levitical and priestly families.

12:27-43. Dedication of the city walls. 445 (444?) B.C.

12:44-13:3. Various officials appointed, etc.

13:4-31. Expulsion of Tobiah; measures of reform, etc.  
 433 (432) B.C.

ii. *Composition of the historical sources, 445-433 B.C.*

a. Neh. 1:1-7:5 = Nehemiah's Memoirs (N). Note the first person. Some portions of this section are regarded by some authorities as belonging to a different source, especially chap. 3. Cf. Batten, Ezra, etc., in loc.

b. For the list, Neh. 7:6-73a (cf. Ezra 2:1-70), see pp. 253 f., iii. c.

c. The source of the section, Neh. 7:73b-10:39, is evidently different from that of chaps. 1:1-7:5 (cf. above n. a), as Ezra and Nehemiah appear in the third person (cf. 8:1-6, 9, etc.). Note also that 7:73b ff. is not the continuation of 7:1-5. By many scholars these chaps. are regarded as Ezra's Memoirs recast by the Chronicler (Ch.). Some assign 9:6-10:39 to E (= Ezra's Memoirs). According to other scholars the source at the basis of Ch. here = the "book of Chronicles" mentioned in Neh. 12:23. Ryle thinks this section is to be classified as of distinct origin, practically contemporary with the events. Whatever its genesis, it seems "substantially reliable." Cf. further, Intros. and Comms. in loc.

d. The connection in Neh. 11 goes back to 7:4 (5a), which is interrupted by the intervening sections. The source of Neh. 11 is probably a list in Nehemiah's Memoirs edited by Ch. (especially Ch. in vss. 25-36). According to some vss. 1-2 + 20-24 = N. The list in vss. 3-24 is parallel in part to 1 Chr. 9:1-17. According to some authorities the list in 12:1-26 may possibly have been derived from "the book of the Chronicles" mentioned in vs. 23. (This is not the canonical book of Chr., it should be noted.) The source of 12:27-43 is partially Ch. (e.g. vss. 27-30, 33-36, 41-43) and partially Nehemiah's Memoirs (N), e.g. vss. 31 f., 37-40. Neh. 12:44-13:3 = Ch. perhaps on the basis of N.

e. Neh. 13:4-31 = Nehemiah's Memoirs (N). Note the 1st person. According to some (e.g. Kent) it is partially influenced by Ch. (e.g. vss. 5b, 13b, 22); according to others (Torrey, H. P. Smith) it is wholly Ch.

iii. *Chronological notes.*

a. The defining dates of this period are the coming of Nehemiah



to Jerusalem in the 20th year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 1:1; 2:1) = 445 (444) B.C., and his second appearance in the 32nd year of that reign = 433 (432) B.C. (Neh. 13:6; cf. 5:14). See further on the last date, *n. h.* below.

b. The following are some of the more detailed chronological data of the Biblical material outlined above. The time covered by Neh. 1:1-7:5 = Mch.-Apr. 445 (444), cf. 2:1, and Aug.-Sept. of the same year (6:15) = completion of the walls. For different explanations and discussion of the variation in dates (months) between 2:1 and 1:1, cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.* As 6:15 marks the completion of the walls in the mo. Elul = Aug.-Sept., and also states that the work was accomplished in 52 days, Nehemiah must have begun his task in June-July. According to Josephus, however, it took 2 yrs. and 4 mos. to build the walls, which some scholars think more probable (Ant. xi. 5, § 8).

c. The date of the section Neh. 7:73b-10:39 is given in days of the 7th mo. = Sept.-Oct. (cf. 7:73b; 8:2; 9:1). The year is not mentioned but it seems probable that the compiler had the same one in mind, *i.e.* 445 (444) B.C.

d. Cf. the view of the chronological relation of Ezra 8-10 to Neh. 8-10 = Ezra 8; Neh. 7:70-73; 8; Ezra 9-10; Neh. 9-10. "This arrangement gives a continuous and consistent story, and the numerous dates fall into sequence." Moore, *LOT*, 130. See further, *Ap. A.*, p. 329, *i. d.*

e. As an indication of the time of the compilation of the list, Neh. 12:1-26, is the name of Jaddua in vs. 22, who is probably the High Priest in the time of Alexander the Great mentioned by Josephus (cf. Ant. xi. 8, § 5). Cf. also the name of Darius (vs. 22), who must accordingly be Darius III, Codomannus (336-331 B.C.).

f. No date is given for the dedication of the walls (Neh. 12:27 ff.), which were completed Aug.-Sept. 445 (444) B.C. (cf. 6:15). Probably this service was not long afterwards. The tradition preserved in 2 Macc. 1:18, that Nehemiah on the 25th of Chisleu (Nov.-Dec.) celebrated the restoration of the altar, has much in favor of its probability. This would make this ceremony about 3 mos. after the completion of the walls. Another theory, which does not seem so likely, is that the formal act of dedication did not take place till the time of Nehemiah's second visit in 433 (432) B.C.

g. The time of the events in Neh. 12:44-13:3 is given indefinitely; cf. "on that day" (12:44; 13:1), which clearly does not refer to the day of rejoicing mentioned in 12:43. Some scholars, however, place 12:44-47 immediately after 12:27-43, but assign 13:1-3 to the time of Ezra, with whose narrative it is claimed

to have affinities, *e.g.* between Ezra 10: 9 and 10: 10. Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

*h.* The date of the events in Neh. 13: 4 ff. is based on vs. 6 = the 32nd year of Artaxerxes = 433 (432) B.C. There is considerable uncertainty in reference to the duration of Nehemiah's governorship. From Neh. 5: 14 the natural inference is that it covered a term of 12 years, *i.e.* from 445 (444)–433 (432) B.C., and that at the end of this period (13: 6) Nehemiah returned to Persia, and "after certain days" (*i.e.* perhaps a year) he went a second time to Jerusalem. It is claimed, however, that the permission of absence, granted to Nehemiah by the Persian court in 445 B.C., was only for a limited time (cf. Neh. 2: 5 f.), and that perhaps he remained in Jerusalem for a year or two at the longest, returning to his former, official post; and that the date in 13: 6 is that of his second visit to Jerusalem. From this point of view Neh. 5: 14 is explained, either as a misunderstanding of the facts of 13: 6 by the compiler; or, as is assumed in the chronology adopted here, that Nehemiah, while absent from Jerusalem after c. 444 B.C., was still nominally the governor, and that in 433 (432) B.C. he again returned to Jerusalem. [Cf. the suggestion of some scholars that 5: 14 should read from the 20th to the 22nd (not 32nd) years of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* that Nehemiah's governorship = 2 yrs. (*e.g.* EBi, iii. 3384 f. = Kosters and Cheyne.)] Batten considers that his first administration ended in 432 B.C., and that his second appointment was most likely shortly before 424 B.C. = end of Artaxerxes' reign (cf. his Ezra, etc., 45 ff.). Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.; see also Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. 93.

*iv. Literary productions originating or issued, 445–433 B.C. (some possibly = c. 458–400 B.C.).*

1. *The Priestly Law (P) as read by Ezra* (cf. Neh. 8). 445 (444) B.C.

#### *Legal sections in Genesis*

- Gen. 2: 2 f. The divine institution of the Sabbath.  
 9: 4–6. Prohibition of blood and murder.  
 17: 1–14. The rite of Circumcision (narrative in form).

#### *Legal sections in Exodus*

- Ex. 12: 1–13, 43–50. The Passover and its ritual (partially narrative in form).  
 12: 14–20. The feast of Unleavened Bread and its ritual.  
 13: 1–2. The law of the First Born.  
 25: 1–31: 17. The Tabernacle and its appointments.  
 35–40. The sequence of chaps. 25–31 (in narrative form).

*Leviticus*

- Lev. 1:1-6:7. Laws relating to sacrifice.  
 6:8-7:38. Directions for the priests.  
 8-10. The consecration of the priesthood (in narrative form).  
 11-16. Laws relating to Purification and Atonement.  
 17-26. The Law of Holiness (H).  
 27. Regulations for vows, etc.

*Legal sections in Numbers*

- Num. 1:47-54 + chaps. 3-4. The status of the Levites, etc.  
 5-6. Exclusion of the leprous and unclean, etc.  
 8:1-9:14. Directions for lamps, etc.  
 15. Sacrifices to accompany burnt-offerings, etc.  
 18-19. Duties and responsibilities of priests and Levites, etc.  
 27:1-11. Law of inheritance of daughters (in narrative form).  
 28-29. Prescribed sacrifices for different occasions.  
 30-31. The law of vows, etc.  
 35-36. Villages for the Levites, etc.<sup>1</sup>  
 2. *The book of Ruth*, c. 450? (or c. 430?) B.C.  
 3. *The prophetic message of Obadiah* = Proud and secure Edom to be destroyed. 450-400 (?) B.C.  
 4. *The Prophetic message of Isaiah*, chaps. 34-35 = The punishment of Edom and Israel's glorious future. c. 450-400 (?) B.C.  
 5. THE PSALTER, *Book i*, *Psalms* 3-41 ("Davidic"), c. 450-430 (?) B.C.  
 6. *Other literature assigned to this period by different authorities.*  
*a. Malachi*,<sup>2</sup> c. 445-c. 432 B.C. Cf. Driver, Kirkpatrick, etc.  
*b. Individual psalms which may belong to this period.*  
 (a) According to Briggs the following 16 psalms belong to the middle Persian period = the times of Nehemiah, 445-433 B.C., viz. 5; 8; 15; 26; 29-30; 40:1-11; 47; 51; 57:5, 7-11 (= 108:1-5); 65; 66:1 f., 6-7b, 8 f.; 69:7-12, 19b-25, 27 f.; 138; 139:7-12; 141.<sup>3</sup>  
 (b) According to Kirkpatrick the following psalms belong with probability to the time of Ezra-Nehemiah, 458-433 (432) B.C. = Pss. 122-134 (122 // Neh. 11:1 ff.; 123, 445 B.C.; 124 // Neh.

<sup>1</sup> Some sections of the legal material (P) in narrative form given above, as well as other portions not included in this outline, are found also in the literature assigned to the early periods of Israel's history, espec. the period of the Exodus and Desert wanderings, pp. 33-41.

<sup>2</sup> For the chron. setting of Malachi given in this vol. see p. 255, ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal. i.* pp. lxxxix ff.

4:7 ff.; 125 // Neh. 6; 126; 127-128, cf. Neh. 7:3 ff.; 129 // Ps. 124; 130-131, cf. Neh. 1:4 ff., 9:1 ff.; 132; 133, cf. Neh. 11:1 ff.; 134 // Neh. 12:44). Also the following psalms: 118 // Neh. 8; 145-150 // Neh. 12:27-43, or later; 105-106, after 537 B.C.; 109, post-exilic; 111-112, post-exilic; 135, an expansion of 134; 136, resembles 135; 108 and 120, possibly post-exilic; 140-143, probably post-exilic; 119, possibly c. 450 B.C. or later.

c. *Song of Triumph*, Ex. 15:1-18. c. 444 B.C. = Cornill; cf. Kent.<sup>1</sup>

d. *The Song of Moses*, Deut. 32:1-43. 1st half of Persian period = Kent.<sup>2</sup>

e. *The Song of Hannah*, 1 Sam. 2:1-10. Perhaps the middle of the Persian period = Kent.<sup>3</sup>

7. *The Memoirs of Ezra* (E) = Ezra 7:27-8:34; 9:1-15; (10). 458 ff. B.C. (?).

8. *The Aramaic sections*, in their original form, in Ezra 4:7-6:18; (7:12-26). c. 450 B.C.

9. *The Memoirs of Nehemiah* (N) = Neh. 1:1-7:5; (7:6-73a); 11-13 (in part). 445 ff. B.C.

10. *The combination of JED and P* is dated with a good deal of probability by many scholars 444-c. 400 B.C. This is on the assumption that the Law read by Ezra in 444 B.C. (Neh. 8; cf. pp. 244 f.) was P alone. The resultant product = the Pentateuch = JEDP = The FIRST CANON, i.e. the Canon of the Law.

11. To this same period, c. 400 B.C., may also belong the final revision of all the historical material from Genesis to 2 Ki. 25 (i.e. the first division of history, cf. p. 1) by R (or R<sup>p</sup>).

12. Jer. 17:19-27 (= exhortation to hallow the Sabbath) is placed in the time of Nehemiah (cf. Neh. 13:15 ff.) by many scholars.<sup>4</sup>

13. Note that Jonah is also assigned to the 5th cen. B.C. by a number of scholars, e.g. Driver, Hunter, Ryle, Kautzsch, etc.<sup>5</sup> Cf. its chronological setting in this vol., pp. 302 f., iii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cornill, Introd. 119, 540. Kent, Songs, etc., 51 f. (= in its present form its date is the early part or middle of the Persian period; vs. 1b = from the days of the Exodus). For its chron. setting in this vol. cf. p. 83, v. b.; see also pp. 35 f., ii. b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kent, Songs, etc., 261. For its chron. setting in this vol. cf. p. 193, ii. 3. b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, Songs, etc., 177 f. See this vol. p. 54, ii. e.

<sup>4</sup> On Jer. 17:19-27, cf. p. 159, v. m.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. LOT, 322; Hunter, After Exile, ii. pp. 42 f., 51 ff. = c. 458 B.C.; Ryle, Canon, etc., 116 = close of 5th cen. B.C.; Kautzsch, LOT, 134 f. = c. 400-350 B.C. Cf. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, xvi, 90 f., 218 (= not long after Ezra-Neh.).

v. *Composition of the literary productions and chronological notes, 445-433 B.C.*

a. In addition (a) to the Law of Holiness H or P<sup>h</sup> = Lev. 17-26 (cf. pp. 184 ff), which is commonly recognized as a distinct part of P, many modern scholars maintain that other separate codes or strata can be determined; such as: (b) the "Priestly Teaching," introduced so frequently by the formula: "This is the law (lit. 'teaching') of, etc." (cf. especially in Lev. 1-3; 5-7; 11-15 and Num. 5; 6; 15; 19:14-22). This is designated by the symbol (P<sup>t</sup>). While its date of compilation probably was the Exile, it doubtless as H represents in the main pre-exilic usage (especially after Josiah's reformation, 621 B.C., cf. HDB, iii. 108b, Harford-Battersby). (c) The main body of Priestly law (after separating H and P<sup>t</sup>), which is distinguished by the fact that it is represented as being revealed to Moses on Sinai, is denoted by the symbol, P or P<sup>s</sup>. This section of P is placed by a number of scholars after the Restoration (537 B.C.) = c. 500 B.C. And (d) later supplements to the Law are indicated by the symbol (P<sup>s</sup>). The following are the principal sections so regarded = Ex. 30:1-31:11; 35-40(?); Lev. 2:4-16(?); 4; 8; 14:8b-53; 27; Num. 1-4(?); 8; 27:1-11(?); 28-31; 35-36. The unity of P is thus "one of spirit only," not a literary one. Cf. Cornill, *Introd.* 93.

b. Among scholars who distinguish different strata in P, it is held that the main body of the Priestly law (P or P<sup>s</sup>) is resumed in Lev. 9 (or chap. 8 according to some authorities), from Ex. 29.

c. Isaiah 35 is generally allowed to be the continuation of chap. 34, — the marked contrast between the contents being taken as a part of the author's design (cf. e.g. Skinner in loc.). But according to McCurdy these chapters have nothing to do with each other. He thinks, while it is uncertain whether chap. 34 is exilic, the resemblances of chap. 35 to Isa. 40 ff. suggest a date at the close of the Exile.<sup>1</sup>

d. Many of the psalms are considered by modern scholars to have been re-edited or expanded by later writers. For the possibility of such additions, see especially Briggs, *Psal.* No attempt is made in this volume to note the times and occasions which different representative scholars have considered probable for the various psalms in the several collections. For such details, cf. *Comms.*<sup>2</sup> The reader is again reminded that the above tentative date refers to the time when *book i as a whole was compiled.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. McCurdy, *HPM*, iii. p. 418, n. 3 (§ 1404). See also exilic setting, p. 196, ii. 4. c.

<sup>2</sup> Note, however, the statement on p. 131, last paragraph.

The collection probably contains psalms, or at least fragments of psalms, of an earlier period.<sup>1</sup>

e. The following psalms in which Jehovah is represented as a host are classified as "Guest psalms" by some scholars (*e.g.* Cheyne) = 5 (cf. vs. 4b); 15; 24:1-6; 27:1-6; 23. Cf. also 61:5; 31:19; 36:7 ff.; 65:4.<sup>2</sup>

f. The following psalms have been classified from earliest times in the Christian church as "Penitential" = 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; 143.

g. The following are the "Nature psalms" = 8; 19:1-7; 29; 93; 104; 107; 145-147.

h. The following psalms in Hebrew are alphabetical or acrostic = 9-10 (in part); 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 119 and 145.

i. Ps. 14 = 53 (Elohistic). Ps. 18 = 2 Sam. 22 [cf. p. 80, iii. f. (a)]. Ps. 40:13-17 = Ps. 70 (Elohistic).

j. As chief evidence bearing on the date of the practical completion of the Pentateuch, c. 400 B.C., is the essential identification of the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs. It is believed that the Samaritans withdrew from the Jewish community in the generation following Ezra and Nehemiah, *i.e.* subsequent to 432 B.C., and that the Pentateuch which they took with them, and alone held as sacred, had attained that form at the time of this separation.<sup>3</sup> On the assumption of this date, c. 400 B.C., there is also the possibility of various modifications of the laws of the Pentateuch, or additions to them being made subsequently — according to some scholars down to the 3rd cen., or even later, B.C. [cf. p. 248; also n. a. (d), above].

k. The additions to the historical books, Josh.-Ki. (cf. above, iv. 11), c. 400 B.C., consist mostly of inserted verses, though occasionally longer sections are introduced. The following in part = the list of such insertions (based essentially on Kautzsch's outline). In Josh., 3:4a; 5:4-7; 9:23, 27 (in part); 17:1b-2, 5(?) 6; 20:4-6; 21:11b-13a; 22:7-8. In Judges, 1:1a, 4, 8 f., 18; 2:1b-5a, 13, 17; 3:1-3, 11, 31; 6:7-10; 11:29; 13:4, 5a, 7b, 13b, 14a; and the recasting of chaps. 20-21.<sup>4</sup> The insertions are less in Samuel, cf. 1 Sam. 6:15, 17, 18a; 16:1-13, etc. (pp. 54, ii. d.; 74, iii. c.; 78, iii. b.). In Kings, cf. 1 Ki. 8:4b, 5, etc. 12:21-24,

<sup>1</sup> See also the statement p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.*, pp. 236 f., 387 ff., 429 f., n. m.

<sup>3</sup> While the above represents the prevailing view of the time the Samaritans received the Pent. some assign a later date. Cf. "the evidence points to a date about a century later" = Skinner, *Divine Names*, etc., 118 ff. See EBi, iv. 5015 f. (Burkitt).

<sup>4</sup> For a somewhat different classification of the R<sup>P</sup> additions in Josh. and Judg., given in this vol. see pp. 42, iii. d.; 51, iii. c.; 52, ii. a.

32 ff., etc. [pp. 82, iii. *e.* ; 134, iii. *c.* ; 138, iii. *g.* ; (140, iii. *b.* ; 155 f., ii. *b.* ; 166, iii. *a.*)].<sup>1</sup>

*l.* It is the view generally held by scholars that the separation of Joshua from the previous part of the Hexateuch (since it related to matters after the death of Moses, and hence was not a part of the Law) took place after the combination of JED and P. Cf. variant view of Joshua, p. 25.

## SECTION V, c. 430–c. 350 B.C.

*i. The period, c. 430–c. 350 B.C.* No Biblical historical records (cf. below, iii. *b.*).

*ii. Literary productions, c. 400–c. 350 (?) B.C.*

*1. Prophetic messages of Joel, 400–360 (?) B.C.*

Chap. 1. The destructive ravages of locusts described, etc.

2:1–17. An exhortation to proclaim “the day of Jehovah,” etc.

2:18–32. Jehovah’s favorable answer, etc.

3. Jehovah’s judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat, etc.

*iii. Composition of the literary productions and chronological notes, c. 400–350 (?) B.C.*

*a.* The unity of Joel has been generally accepted, though its composite character has been maintained at different times. Bewer recently in his commentary strongly holds the latter view. He considers its composition to be as follows: (*a*) chaps. 1:1–2:27 = the plague of locusts and drought in which the following harmonistic vss. relating to the day of Jehovah are found, especially, 1:15; 2:1*b*–2, 10–11. This section is the work of Joel c. 400 B.C.; (*b*) chaps. 2:28–3:21 (in the main) = the day of Jehovah, in which the following vss. by Joel are embedded, 2:28–31*a*; 3:2*a*, 9–14*a*. This section dates a few decades later than (*a*); and (*c*) 3:4–8 is a still later part, c. 350 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

*b.* The period 430–350 B.C. The events chronicled in the last chapter of Nehemiah (13:4 ff.) are connected with his second visit to Jerusalem c. 432 B.C. The history of the Jews for the remainder of the Persian period (till 332 B.C.) is known only indirectly from allusions in historical writings outside of the O. Test., and from inferences from the Biblical literature, which may be assigned with more or less probability to those years. It seems a reasonable conclusion, from all that can be gleaned, that the years following the adoption of the Law, c. 444 B.C., and the different

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 233 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bewer, Joel, 49 ff., 59 ff.

reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, were marked for some time by a fair degree of prosperity and contentment. If the lists given in Ezra 2 (cf. Neh. 7:6 ff.) represent summaries of returned Exiles, as some authorities maintain, at different times during practically the whole Persian period (cf. p. 254, iv. b.), and the "Ezra" and "Nehemiah," which appear in the lists (cf. Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7, Azariah = Ezra?) are the well-known Biblical characters, then their relative place in these registers suggests how large a proportion of the number recorded returned to Jerusalem subsequent to their date. It is inferred also that the Jewish territory was extended in the period introduced by Ezra-Nehemiah. Thus in the beginning of the Maccabean period, Bethel, Beth-horon, etc., were Judean, not Samaritan, cities (cf. Jos. Ant. xiii. 1, § 3; 1 Macc. 9:50). This expansion was perhaps due to the number of returned Exiles. In harmony with this inference are the places associated with some of the names in the lists, *e.g.* Geba, Michmash, Bethel, Kirjath-jearim, etc. (cf. Ezra 2:25 ff. // Neh. 7:29 ff.), situated in the southern territory of Samaria, which, it is maintained, was not held by the Jews in 444 B.C. (cf. Neh. 3). The possibility of such expansion northward during these years was due to the weak central government of Persia in the reign of Artaxerxes II, 404-358 B.C. Cf. Kent, *Jew. People*, 224 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 362 ff., 380 f., 395 ff. HDB, ii. 515b (Barnes). EBi, ii. 2258 f. (Guthe), etc.

## SECTION VI, c. 350-332 B.C.

i. *The period*, c. 350-332 B.C. No Biblical historical records; cf. below, iv. a.; pp. 273 f.

ii. *Literary productions originating or compiled*, c. 350-332 B.C.

1. *Prophetic messages of Isaiah*, chaps. 24-27. c. 340-332 (?) B.C.

Chap. 24. Announcement of Jehovah's judgment upon the earth, etc.

25. Jehovah praised for His deliverance, etc.

26:1-19. Further praise to Jehovah for protection, etc.

26:20-27:13. Exhortation to Jehovah's people to hide themselves, etc.

2. **THE PSALTER.** *Books ii-iii, in part* (Pss. 42-83). c. 430-330 (?) B.C.

a. *Davidic collection.* Pss. 51-72.

b. *The two-fold Levitical collections; Korahite* (Pss. 42-49), and *Asaphic* (Pss. 50 + 73-83).



3. *The Book of Job.* c. 350 (?) B.C.

Chaps. 1-2. The prologue, — Job's dire calamities, etc.

3-31. Discussion between Job and his Three Friends of the problem of suffering as related to sin.

3. Job's outburst of grief, etc.

4-14. The first cycle of speeches.

15-21. The second cycle of speeches.

22-28. The third cycle of speeches.

29-31. Further discourses of Job.

(32-37. The Elihu speeches.)

38:1-42:6. The speeches of Jehovah and Job's submission.

42:7-17. The epilogue = restoration of Job's prosperity.

4. *The following are some of the literary products, which are also assigned to the period c. 350-332 B.C. by different scholars.*

a. Isa. 63:7-64:12, possibly earlier than Isa. 24-27 (= c. 346 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> See p. 260, v. a.

b. Pss. 74, 79, and 44; and possibly 83 and 89.<sup>2</sup>

c. Prov. 1-9, according to some scholars, as well as the final redaction and combination of the other collections of the book = c. 350 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

d. "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" ("Israel and Judah"), — *not the canonical books of Kings*, — which was one of the sources of the books of Chronicles, is assigned by some scholars to the close of the Persian period or later.<sup>4</sup>

e. Insertions in the Prophetical literature, possibly in the Persian period.<sup>5</sup>

f. According to Briggs the following 11 psalms belong to the troublous times of the late Persian period = 27:7-9, 11 f.; 36:5-9; 44; 48; 49; 50; 68; 81:1-5b; 85; 89:1 f., 5-14; 102:1-11.<sup>6</sup>

g. Habak. 3 = Persian period according to some scholars.<sup>7</sup>

h. Lam. 3, regarded by many scholars as post-exilic in origin, according to Kent = last half of Persian or first of Greek period.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* in loc. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 309 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, 207 f., 438. Cf. Pss. 74, 79, 89 (Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 223; his *Introd. Isa.* 360 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 235 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *LOT*, 153, 199. For the chron. setting of these chaps. in this vol. cf. p. 310, iii. 9. a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2084 (Moore). See also this vol. pp. 65 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. lists, pp. 306-308.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal.* i. pp. lxxxix ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.* 156 f., n. r. Moore, *LOT*, 204. See note p. 162, iii. g. of this vol.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Kent, *Songs*, etc., 20 f. Cheyne's dating for the different Lam. poems may be noted: chaps. 2 and 4 = latter part of Persian period;

iii. *Composition of the literary productions.* c. 350-332 B.C.

a. In Isa. 24-27, the lyrical passages 25:1-5, 9-12; 26:1-19; 27:2-6 (cf. also the obscure section 27:7-11) are thought by some scholars to have been inserted a few years later into the original prophecy, though possibly by the same author. Some of the reasons given for this view are: (a) the remaining sections form a unity and up to 27:1 at least give a consistent picture of the future; and (b) 26:1-19 is written in a tone of mingled exultation and sadness inappropriate to the supposed situation. Cf. further Intros. and Comms. in loc.

b. Note the fact that in the Pss. 42-83 the divine name Elohim (= God) predominates over that of Jehovah; cf. pp. 225 f. (d).

c. Ps. 53 = Ps. 14 (Jehovistic). 57:7-11 = Ps. 108:1-5. 60:5-12 = 108:6-13. 70 = 40:13-17 (Jehovistic).

d. Ps. 72:20, the subscription, was probably added by the Elohist compiler. See pp. 227 f.

e. Pss. 77, 78, 80 and 81 are termed by some scholars "Joseph psalms" on account of the employment of the name "Joseph" in them. *E.g.* Cheyne.

f. A number of recent scholars maintain that the present book of Job is a revised and expanded edition of an earlier (prose) production. This original work has been partially preserved in the prologue (chaps. 1-2) and the epilogue (42:7-17) of the present book, being borrowed by the author, who wrote chaps. 3:1-42:6. For a suggested plot of the original line of argument of the speakers, see Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 160 f. This view is held by Cheyne, Duhm, Cornill, Schmidt, Gordon, Strahan, etc.<sup>12</sup>

g. The section, Job 27:7-23, which apparently is a part of Job's speech, presents difficulties which are recognized by all scholars. The statements (and point of view) of Job therein are inconsistent with those held by him up to this point (cf. especially 27:9 with 9:15 f.; 13:24; 19:7; 23:8 f.; cf. also 27:11-23 which is the opposite of his statements in 9:22-24 and in chaps. 21 and 24). On the other hand the line of argument is parallel to that of the Friends, especially Zophar (see chap. 20; cf. *e.g.* 27:13 with 20:29). There seems no connection between

chap. 5 = age of Nehemiah, or later; chap. 1 = after the Exile; chap. 3 = pre-Macc. portion of the Greek age. Cf. EBi, iii. 2700 ff. (Cheyne); Founders, etc., 356 ff. See also HDB, iii. 23 (Selbie), where the possibility of a post-exilic dating for Lam. is conceded.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2467 f. (Cheyne); iii. 3801 (Duhm). Cornill, *Introd.* 434 ff. Schmidt, *Poets*, 80 ff., 97 ff., 110 ff. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 204 ff. Strahan, *Job* 23 f. See also discussion in Peake, *Job* 32 f., 344 f. Gray, *Introd.* 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For different dates suggested for the original book of Job, cf. p. 166, ii. l. and p. 256, ii. 2. c.

27:1-6 and 27:7 ff. Among the different attempts to solve the problem the following may be mentioned: (a) Job here modifies his former extreme charges, by affirming what is the general rule in reference to the fate of the wicked. To this the objection is made that this is not in agreement with 27:1-6 nor with chap. 28 which follows; (b) Ewald's solution, viz. that Job has by this time conquered his doubts regarding the divine order of government, and anticipates some such issue as in the epilogue (42:7 ff.). This, however, is inconsistent with Job's position later (*e.g.* chap. 30), and does not harmonize with Jehovah's speech (chaps. 38 ff.); and (c) that it is in whole or in part a misplaced speech of Zophar. Note the fact that he does not appear in the third cycle of speeches.<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further discussion, *Introdus.* and *Comms.* in loc.

*h.* The place of Job 28 in the argument of the poem is by no means clear. The following explanations may be mentioned: (a) Job, having failed to solve his difficulties intellectually, is forced in despair to explain his inability, on the ground that divine Wisdom is beyond human grasp (*e.g.* Budde); (b) that the chap. expresses a temporary spirit of calmness and of resignation to the wisdom of God's ways, which cannot be solved (*e.g.* Driver, Gibson); and (c) the opinion that this chap. is a later addition, perhaps an independent poem inserted here to preserve it. This last view is held by many scholars to-day, especially on the ground that the message of the chap. (viz. that while the divine Wisdom is inscrutable to man, man's wisdom is to trust God), while in harmony with the teaching of the O. Test., is inconsistent with Job's previous position and his subsequent attitude in chaps. 30-31. Furthermore, it is claimed that if chap. 28 is Job's conclusion, then chaps. 38-42 are unnecessary, and the lament of Job in chap. 31 is difficult to account for. The connection of this chapter in the poem as explained by different authorities, who accept it as an integral part of the book, seems "forced" and "unnatural." Moreover, the style, which differs from the rest of the book, it is maintained, favors a different author. Cf. further on this question and the relative date of this chap. and Prov. 8 (= also a description of divine Wisdom), *Introdus.* and *Comms.* on these chaps.

<sup>1</sup> Among those holding the Zophar view of chap. 27 there is some variation in opinion regarding the vss. to be assigned to him. This question is connected with the problem of rearranging the sections which belong to the different characters in chaps. 25-31. The following is Peake's arrangement of these chaps: Bildad = 25:1-3 (vss. 4-6 = a gloss) + 26:5-14; Job = 26:1-4 + 27:1-6, 11 f.; also chaps. 29-31; Zophar = 27:7-10 (or 8-10 = a gloss), 13-23. See further Peake and other *Comms.* in loc.; also Cheyne, *Job* and *Sol.* 38 f. Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 211 f.

i. The Elihu speeches, Job 32-37, though defended by some distinguished scholars (*e.g.* Budde, Cornill, etc.), are generally regarded as a later supplement to the book. The following are the main reasons for this conclusion: (a) Elihu is not mentioned in the prologue, nor especially in the epilogue, where a verdict upon him along with the other characters of the poem would naturally be included; (b) this section interrupts the natural order of the poem, as the opening verses of chap. 38 refer to Job (vs. 2 almost implying that he is speaking when Jehovah begins), and it weakens the force of Jehovah's reply, which in part is anticipated in chaps. 36 f., *i.e.* chap. 38 is more forceful if it follows immediately chap. 31; (c) practically Elihu traverses the same ground as the Three Friends do, especially Eliphaz (cf. 33:14-30; 36:8-25 with 5:8 ff., 17 ff. = the disciplinary character of sufferings):<sup>1</sup> and (d) the literary characteristics of this section are inferior to the rest of the poem. "It is prolix, labored and sometimes tautologous (32:6 end, 10b, 17b)," with more Aramaic influence. According to Driver, "though not part of the original plan of the book, they (*i.e.* the Elihu chaps.) are a valuable supplement to it; they attach prominence to real and important truths which in the rest of the poem might seem not to have received their proper due." Cf. further, *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.* Gordon, *Poets, etc.*, 213 ff. Schmidt, *Poets*, 89 f.

j. The authenticity of Job 38:1-42:6 has been questioned by some as a whole, by others in part. Especially is the long description 40:15-41:26 (34) considered by many an interpolation, partly (a) on the ground that it is out of harmony with the idea of Jehovah's second speech (40:6 ff.), partly (b) owing to its poetical inferiority to the other parts of chaps. 38-39. Driver practically rejects 40:15-24. Cf. further, *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*; also Gordon, *Poets, etc.*, 215 ff. Schmidt, *Poets*, 90 ff.

k. For other vss. and sections questioned in Job, cf. *Introsds. and Comms.*

#### iv. *Chronological notes.*

a. The period, c. 350-332 B.C. The fortunes of the Jews during the reign of Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 358-337 B.C., is a subject of some uncertainty. It is known that during this time there was a fierce conflict between Persia and Egypt, in which the smaller

<sup>1</sup> This contention, however, is challenged by many scholars. It is maintained, "that, if true, it would cut both ways, for it would remove all motive for the interpolation; whereas it is impossible to suppose that these chaps. were inserted at a later date unless some definite reason for this insertion can be found." Cf. the disciplinary end served by suffering emphasized in this section. See Gibson, Job, xxvi f. Strahan, Job, 24 f.

Western powers were involved. The arms of Egypt being at first victorious (c. 350 B.C.) encouraged rebellion in other centres; *e.g.* Sidon, which after maintaining its independence was at length destroyed in 346 B.C. The conquest of Egypt was completed by 343 B.C. It is the opinion of a number of scholars at the present time that the Jews were implicated in these conflicts and that they suffered greatly from the vengeance of Ochus in consequence. This conclusion is based not simply on the probability of a growing community, which had its centre in Jerusalem, being unable to escape the political complications and consequences of those years, but as well upon references, in non-Jewish histories, to a capture of Jericho and a transportation of Jews to Hyrcania on the south of the Caspian sea (cf. Sollinus, xxxv, 6. Syncellus, i. 486). As Josephus is not always correct in his chronological setting of events, the view has much to commend it that his account of the enslaving of Jews and the defilement of the Temple by Bagoses (Bagoas) [whom he represents as general of another Artaxerxes, II (?) (cf. Ant. xi., 7, § 1)] refers to the disasters which probably befell the Jewish community under Ochus. Cf. further Kent, *Jew. People*, 229 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 410 ff. HDB, ii. 515*b* (Barnes). EBi, ii. 2259 (Guthe), etc.

## X. A. THE GRECIAN PERIOD. INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE LITERATURE OF THIS PERIOD

The literature belonging to the Grecian period is found in the prophetic writings Zechariah, chaps. 9-14 and Jonah; the poetical writings of Song of Solomon; Proverbs, chaps. 1-9; 30-31 (and the compilation of the book); psalms and compilation of Psalms; and miscellaneous productions = Esther, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. The most of these literary compositions had their origin in this period. Cf., however, on Prov. pp. 118 ff., 313, v. s.v. and Psalms, pp. 130 f., 228, 233 f.<sup>1 2</sup>

It will be noticed in the above list that there are no historical writings relating to this period. This deficiency has to be supplied (so far as it is possible to remedy it) partly from historical writings outside the O. Test., and partly from inferences from the Biblical writings given above. Cf. also the outline of events given in the apocalyptic description in Dan. 11 (see pp. 320 f., v. g.).

### 1. PROPHETICAL WRITINGS

A. *Zechariah, chaps. 9-14.* These chapters are now generally regarded by scholars as belonging to a different date and author from those of Zechariah 1-8. If these chapters existed detached from the previous part of the prophecy, as a separate book, there would be no thought of attributing them to the author of that portion.<sup>3</sup>

This conclusion is based upon the fact that an entirely different background is reflected in these chapters from that of the first part of the prophecy: *e.g.* (a) no mention is made of the Temple, or but slight allusion to it; contrast chaps. 1-8 (*e.g.* 8:9); (b) there is no certain reference to

<sup>1</sup> Proverbs and Ecclesiastes belong to the Wisdom literature. Cf. p. 235, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For other literature assigned to this period by different scholars, cf. pp. 302 f., iii. 2. 6; 306 ff., iii. 7. 8; 318, iii. 3; 322, iii. 5. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Note in the superscriptions in 9:1 and 12:1 that there is no mention of Zechariah. Cf. also a similar heading in the anonymous prophecy of Malachi (1:1).

the Persian period nor reflection of it; (c) the nations which are named, viz. Damascus and Hadrach (9:1), Hamath (9:2), Greece (9:13), Assyria and Egypt (10:10), had no bearing on Jewish history between 520–516 B.C.; (d) with the exception of 9:10–12, the peaceful outlook of chaps. 1–8 has been changed to one of warlike attitude (cf. 9:1 ff., 13 ff.; 12:1 ff., etc.); (e) the bitterness of feeling displayed towards outside nations is more intense than in any other portion of the Old Testament, with but few exceptions (*e.g.* 9:1 ff., 13 ff.; 14:12 ff., etc.); and (f) a further fact confirming difference of authorship is the absence of any name and of precise dating as found in chapters 1–8. (cf. 1:1, 7; 7:1).

Cf. also the marked dissimilarity of style between the two sections. Chaps. 9–14 are characterized largely by parallelism of clauses (as in much of the prophetic writings), and poetic imagery. These features are almost entirely lacking in chaps. 1–8. Note also that chaps. 1–8 are largely in the form of visions, which are absent in chaps. 9–14.

In reference to the date of Zechariah 9–14 the opinion of scholars has differed as in the case of Joel, some favoring the pre-exilic period and others the post-exilic. In support of the former position the following reasons are urged: (a) the Northern Kingdom is spoken of as if still existing, between which and Judah friendly relations are maintained (9:10, 13; 11:14); (b) Egypt and Assyria are mentioned as contemporary nations whither the Israelites will be sent into captivity (10:10 f., cf. Hos. 7:11; 9:3; 11:5, 11; 12:1); (c) the reference to “teraphim” and “diviners” (10:1 f.) implies pre-exilic conditions, as in post-exilic times the nation was not idolatrous (but cf. Mal. 3:5; Job 31:26 ff.); and (d) the nations mentioned and threatened (9:1–7) are those which are also included in Amos (cf. 1:3–10).

The pre-exilic date, accordingly, to which chaps 9–11 and 13:7–9 are commonly assigned, is the time of Amos and Hosea, *i.e.* c. 760–735 B.C. Chaps. 12–14 (less 13:7–9), on the basis of the reference in 12:11 to mourning for king Josiah (2 Ki. 23:29; cf. 2 Chr. 35:24 f.),<sup>1</sup> are placed in the

<sup>1</sup> The allusion in 12:11, however, is uncertain. See Introd. and Comms. in loc.

last years of the Kingdom (*i.e.* the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin or Zedekiah; 608–586 B.C.).

The description in 11:4 ff. is thought by some to be based on the circumstances of the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II (c. 740 B.C., cf. 2 Ki. 15:8 ff., 13 ff., 17 ff.). The allusion, however, is exceedingly obscure.

On the other hand, recent scholarly opinion is increasingly in favor of a post-exilic date. Some of the more important grounds for this view are as follows: (a) chaps. 9:11 f. and 10:6–9 apparently presuppose the Captivity, — at least of the Northern Kingdom, 722 B.C. (cf. “cast them off,” 10:6). It was not till after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that a part of the Jews went into Egypt; (10:10, cf. Jer. 42–44).<sup>1</sup> (b) No reference is made to a Davidic king in Jerusalem [the Davidic family is recognized as on the same level as the other noble families (*e.g.* 12:7, 12 ff.)]; (c) the emphasis which is placed on the Temple services in the Messianic age (cf. chap. 14, especially vss. 16 ff.) presupposes the influence of the Temple in post-exilic times. Cf. also the prominence of the priesthood (12:12 f.). (d) The Greeks are mentioned (9:13), not as the remote power they were in the eighth century B.C.; nor as in the time of Zech. 1–8; nor even of Joel (3:6 = a distant nation of slave-buyers), 400–360 (?) B.C., but as Israel’s most formidable antagonists. This was a condition realized only after the conquests of Alexander the Great, 332 ff. B.C. (e) The mention of Hadrach, Damascus, Hamath, Phœnicia and Philistia (9:1 ff.) harmonizes with the historical situation during the period of conflict between the Seleucidæ of Syria (note Hadrach and Damascus) and the Ptolemies of Egypt, during which the Jews suffered greatly (cf. 11:4–17?<sup>2</sup>). (f) Egypt and Assyria (10:10 f.), it is claimed, may be naturally accounted for as symbolically used in this prophecy — of an apocalyptic character — to denote the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ; (g) in a similar way

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the view that there were Jews not unlikely in Egypt from a time as early as the last days of the Northern Kingdom, who had taken refuge there from the dangers of their own land. See Kent, *Jew. People*, 20.

<sup>2</sup> For the conflict between the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies and its bearing upon the fortunes of the Jews, cf. pp. 300 f., ii. b.



"Ephraim" and "Israel" (cf. 9:10, 13; 12:1, etc.) signify Judah, according to post-exilic usage (cf. also "house of Joseph" 10:6);<sup>1</sup> and (h) the character of this prophecy is unlike the pre-exilic messages of Amos, Hosea, etc. (*i.e.* practical exhortations and predictions), being apocalyptic (*i.e.* Zion attacked by outside nations, which in turn are visited with judgment by Jehovah), a type first introduced by Ezekiel (cf. chaps. 38 f.) and found in other late prophecies; *e.g.* Joel 3; Isa. 24-27.

"We stand no longer upon the ground of prophecy properly so called, but of anonymous, eschatological writing. Certain stereotyped features of eschatology recur. The writers are very strongly influenced by ancient prophecy; for the most part by its religious rather than by its ethical contents, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Cf. also the dependence of Zech. 12:1 on Isa. 42:5; 44:24; 45:12, 18, etc.

Note also the hostility expressed towards prophecy in 13:2 ff., which is contrary to the attitude of the pre-exilic prophets.

While the post-exilic period seems the more probable time for the origin of this prophecy, it is difficult to determine the date more definitely within it. On the whole, however, the years of conflict between the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ in the third century seem the most probable occasion. Accordingly c. 300-250 B.C. may reasonably be assigned tentatively as its date.

Some scholars assign this section of prophecy earlier in post-exilic times; *e.g.* Kirkpatrick = possibly by two authors (chaps. 9-11 + 13:7-9 and chaps. 12-14), as a whole 60 or 70 years after the Return, *i.e.* c. 485 ff. B.C.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars differ in opinion in reference to the unity of Zech. 9-14. "The general trend of scholarly opinion may be said to be in favor of the unity of the section."<sup>4</sup> "The chapters are so near together in point of time that the question whether they are by a single author is of subordinate importance."<sup>5</sup>

Kent holds to the unity of these chaps. He thinks they reflect the Maccabean conflict, their date being c. 160 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Driver suggests the possibility of these different designations being used symbolically for the Israelites still in Exile. LOT, 349.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, iv. 969b f. (Nowack).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 443 ff., 451, 455. See p. 256, ii. 2. f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 326.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 423. n. 2. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 453 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kent, *Ibid.*, 36 f., 453 ff.

For some of the recent views of the composite character of this section of prophecy, cf. under Biblical material, p. 303, iv. *b*.<sup>1</sup>

*B. The Book of Jonah.* This book being a prophetic story may conveniently be grouped with the prophetic writings of this period. It is now generally regarded as a parable or allegory, designed to rebuke the narrow and hostile attitude of later Judaism towards other nations.

"Whatever view one takes of the formal character and origin of the book, the ideas embodied in it are the same," . . . viz. "to proclaim the universality of the Divine plan of salvation, and to serve as a protest against the particularist tendencies which now and then led many members of the people of Israel to strive to narrow the boundaries of the Divine kingdom of grace. The book is thus a brilliant example of the diametrical opposite spirit which condemned the foreign wives (Mal. 2:11; Ezra 9:1 ff.; 10:1 ff.; Neh. 13:23 ff.; cf. Esth. 9:13)."<sup>2</sup>

While the hero of the story lived in the reign of Jeroboam II (cf. 2 Ki. 14:25), 781–740 B.C., the evidence is clear that this book was not written till long after that time. The following are some of the grounds for this conclusion: (a) the language and style, which are those of the latest period of Old Testament Hebrew, having marked affinities especially with Ezra-Nehemiah, and Ecclesiastes (c. 250–200 B.C.); (b) the psalm in chap. 2 is made up largely of phrases taken from the Psalter, and from some of the psalms which are post-exilic, after the analogy of Pss. 142, 143 and 144:1–11; (c) the fact that the name of the king of Nineveh,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Zech. 9–14, LOT, 346 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 259 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 136 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 226 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 363 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 228 ff. Moore, LOT, 210 ff. HDB, iv. 968 ff. (Nowack); extra vol. 708b (Kautzsch). EBI, iv. 5391 ff. (Wellhausen). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Zech. 9–14, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Mitchell); *Expos. B.* = *Bk. of XII*, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); *Cen. B.*, vol. 2 (Driver); cf. *Bible Handbooks* (Dods). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 112 ff. Kent, *Sermons*, etc., 36 ff., 453 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 423 ff. Kent, *Jew. People*, 273 f., 311 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 501 f., 30 f. Kirkpatrick, *Doct. Prophs.* 442 ff. Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 323 ff. Farrar, *Minor Prophs.* 208 ff., 216 ff. Cornill, *Prophs. Isr.* 167 f. Bennett, *Post-Exil. Prophs.* 114 ff., 121 ff. W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.*<sup>2</sup> 414, n. 21 (= 412, n. 21, old ed.). W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 102 f. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 319 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 236 f., 285 f. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 379 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, ii. 752a (König).

who plays such a prominent part in the book (cf. chap. 3), is not given, naturally leads to the inference that the writer is not describing contemporary events; and (d) the Assyrian empire, it is implied, had long since passed away, as can be seen in such expressions as "Nineveh *was* an exceeding great city" (3:3), and in the title "king of Nineveh" (3:6), which was never used when the Assyrian kingdom existed.

The title "the king of Nineveh" is one "that could never have been applied to him in Assyria, nor at a time when the Assyrian empire was still in existence. Had the Book of Jonah been compiled while the power of Assyria was still felt and feared in the West, we should have heard, as in the books of Kings and Isaiah, of 'the great king'; 'the king of Assyria.'" <sup>1</sup>

Cf. also the significance of the way in which Nineveh is referred to (3:3 ff.), as if not much was known of it by those for whom this book was written.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the language referred to above under (a) cf. 3:9 with Joel 2:14, and 4:2 with Ex. 34:6 (= JE or R), Joel 2:13, etc. Note also the relation of 1:9 to Gen. 1:9 (= P, c. 500 B.C.) and the fact that in the Hebrew the same word for "dry land" is used. Cf. further the descriptive phrase "the God of heaven" as applied to Jehovah (1:9), used commonly in post-exilic times but rarely in pre-exilic (Ezra 1:2; 6:9, 10 and frequently in Ezra-Neh., etc.).

Among other reasons given for the late date of the book are: (e) the legalistic spirit of the prayer in chap. 2; (f) the underlying thought and spirit of the book presuppose the teaching of the prophetic period (cf. 3:10 with Jer. 18:7 f.); and also (g) the universalistic spirit expressed in 4:11 (cf. Ps. 36:6).

While in view of such facts as these the post-exilic date is now commonly held, it is exceedingly difficult to determine with certainty its precise occasion. The lesson of the book is one that would have been timely in almost any period of post-exilic Judaism. On account, however, especially of the linguistic evidence, it may reasonably be assigned to c. 300 B.C., though it may belong possibly somewhat earlier in the post-exilic age.

Among earlier dates cf. the 5th cen. B.C. (Driver, Kautzsch, Ryle,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, etc., 487.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 2566 (Cheyne).

etc.). Between 450–250 B.C. (Gray); 400–200 B.C. (Bewer). Among later dates, cf. H. P. Smith = 250–200 B.C.

On chap. 2 (poetic) as an insertion in the book, cf. p. 304, iv. *h.*<sup>1 2</sup>

## 2. POETICAL WRITINGS

*A. The Song of Solomon.* This book is attributed in its superscription (1:1) to Solomon, but it is generally agreed that this is not an original part of the book. The date and occasion accordingly have to be determined by the evidence which the book itself furnishes.

That the superscription does not belong to the author of the poem is shown by the fact that in the book itself the short form of the Hebrew relative pronoun is used exclusively (viz. “sh”), while in the heading the longer form is found (viz. “’āshēr”); cf. (*b*) below.

The following are the more important facts bearing on the date: (*a*) the presence of Aramaisms, and of many words found never or rarely in Biblical Hebrew but which are common in Aramaic.

Among Aramaisms, cf. “shallāmāh” (= “for why,” 1:7), and such constructions as, literally, “my vineyard which is to me” (1:6); “his bed which is to Solomon” (3:7), which are “found elsewhere only in the Mishnah and in Syriac.”<sup>3</sup>

(*b*) The short form of the Hebrew relative pronoun (= “sh”) is used exclusively, instead of the longer form (= “’āshēr”), which allies it with Lamentations, c. 580–550

<sup>1</sup> For interpretations of the book, cf. especially LOT, 323 ff. G. A. Smith, Book of XII, ii. 500 ff. Bewer, Jonah, 6 ff., 62 ff. Cornill, Intro. 338. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 170 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Jonah, LOT, 321 ff. Bennett, Intro. 244 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 134 f., 199. McFadyen, Intro. 196 ff. Cornill, Intro. 336 ff. Gray, Intro. 215 ff. Moore, LOT, 138 ff. HDB, ii. 744 ff. (König). EBi, ii. 2087 (Moore); 2565 ff.; cf. iii. 3897 f. (Cheyne). Intros. in Comms. on Jonah, espec. Int. Crit. (Bewer); Expos. B. = Bk. of XII, vol. 2 (G. A. Smith); Cen. B., vol. 1 (Horton). Bennett, Primer, etc., 112. Kent, Sermons, etc., 32 f., 419 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 425 f. Kent, Jew. People, 116 f., 263 ff., 311 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 29, 502 f. Sayce, Higher Crit., etc., 486 ff. Hunter, After Exile, ii. 42 f., 51 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 116, 204 f. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 170 ff. Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. 114 ff., 126 f. Sanders, etc., Prophs. ii. 339 ff. Farrar, Minor Prophs. 231 ff. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, 91, 218 f. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 314 ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 287. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 313 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Harper, Song of Sol. xxvi. Cornill, Intro. 458.

B.C., Jonah, c. 300 (?) B.C. and Ecclesiastes, c. 250–200 B.C. (where it is often found).

Note, however, that the short form of the relative is found in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:7), which is considered one of the earliest pieces of Hebrew literature, and in some few other earlier narratives. While its usage is obscure, its exclusive use in the Song of Solomon points to the late date of the book.

(c) Foreign words occur, such as that translated “orchard” (4:13), of Persian origin, and that rendered “palanquin” (3:9), which seems most probably to be derived from the Greek;<sup>1</sup> and (c) the spirit reflected in the poem is a peaceful and contented one.

The above facts, especially the linguistic, favor the post-exilic period, when the Aramaic influence came in and Persian words first became familiar. Cf. the same Persian word (“pārdēs”) translated “orchard” (4:13), which is also found in Neh. 2:8 (rendered “forest,” R. V.) and Eccles. 2:5 (translated “parks”). Two dates in this period have been suggested for this book. The earlier one is during the prosperous era following the constructive work of Nehemiah, 432 ff. B.C., when Hebrew was still a living language, but the Aramaic was gaining in influence.<sup>2</sup> It has accordingly been assigned by some scholars to the second part of the Persian period, c. 400 B.C. and onwards, as the most probable occasion.<sup>3</sup>

The later time in this period, which many recent scholars think more probable, is after the Greek conquest. This harmonizes with the linguistic evidence, and accounts most naturally for the presence of a word of Greek origin.

According to Principal Harper, however, who places its origin in the Persian period, it would have been possible for this Greek word to come into currency among the Jews by way of Egypt, long before the Grecian period.<sup>4</sup>

While it is impossible to fix the precise occasion in the

<sup>1</sup> The words are “pārdēs” = the Persian “pairidæza,” and “appiryōn,” cf. the Greek “phoreion” (φορείον).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inference from Neh. 13:24 that up to that time, 432 B.C., Hebrew was the “Jews’ language.”

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Harper in Song of Sol. xxxi, following Wellhausen.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., xxvii f.

Greek era for its composition, a date c. 300 B.C. may be taken tentatively as a probable one.

Among other reasons for considering the Song of Sol. post-exilic is the fact that its canonicity was questioned down to c. 100 A.D. If it were a pre-exilic production, this is difficult to account for; but it can readily be explained if of late origin.<sup>1</sup>

For different interpretations and analyses of the book, cf. p. 304, iv. g. and Ap. B., pp. 330-332.<sup>2</sup>

*B. Collections of Proverbs.*<sup>3</sup> The questions of Solomonic proverbs, and of the collections which have the strongest claims for pre-exilic dating, have already been considered (pp. 116-122). It remains now to notice the groups which seem more likely to be post-exilic; also the time when the different sections were united to make up the book in its present form.

*a. Prov. 1-9.* As previously noticed (p. 116), these chapters consist of a general preface or introduction (1:1-6) and the main portion (1:7-9:18).

Whatever the significance of Prov. 1:1a (cf. p. 117), it is now generally allowed that it does not apply to chaps. 1-9. It was probably prefixed originally with reference especially to the collection 10:1 ff., to denote that it contained Solomonic proverbs.<sup>4</sup>

It is generally agreed among scholars, that with the exception of chapters 30-31, they represent the latest division of

<sup>1</sup> For arguments in favor of the pre-exilic composition of this poem, cf. especially, LOT, 449 f., where, however, the strong force of the linguistic evidence for a late date is conceded; and this as Harper points out constitutes "the really decisive element in regard to date." (Song of Sol. xxv ff.)

Cf. also the statement of Kent that some of the songs of this poem "may well come from the days preceding the exile." See his Songs, etc., 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of the Song of Solomon, LOT, 436 ff. Bennett, Introd. 167 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 148 ff. McFadyen, Introd. 282 ff. Cornill, Introd. 456 ff. Gray, Introd. 155 ff. Moore, LOT, 244 ff. HDB, iii. 613b (Woods); iv. 9a, 10, 13a (Budde); 589 ff. (Rothstein). EBi, i. 681 ff. (Cheyne); iii. 3798 (Duhm). Intros. in Comms. on Song of Solomon, espec. Expos. B. (Adeney); Camb. B. (Andrew Harper); Cen. B. (Martin). Bennett, Primer, etc., 97 f. Kent, Songs, etc., 22 ff., 89 ff. Griffis, Lily among Thorns. Gordon, Poets, etc., 309 ff. Schmidt, Poets, 215 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 426 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 19. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 349 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 131 f., 147 f., 187, 209 f. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 286. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 359 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Proverbs is one of the books of the Wisdom literature. See p. 235, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LOT, 406.

the book. The two parts 1:1-6 and 1:7-9:18 may belong to the same author.

The following facts bear especially on the date: (a) the literary form of this section, which differs in a marked way from the main collections of the book (10:1 ff.; chaps. 25-29). The latter consist of proverbs in the form of couplets, each complete in itself. In the former, instead of proverbs, there is the orderly and elaborate development of themes, characterized by a hortatory tone throughout. These chapters have not inaptly been described as a "series of didactic poems."<sup>1</sup> This more developed literary structure (cf. chap. 2, which forms a single sentence), according to some scholars suggests Greek influence. In any event the more elaborate literary form implies an advance upon the simpler sentence uniformly found in 10:1 ff.

(b) The different conception and treatment of wisdom in chaps. 1-9 from that of the main divisions of the book is an important consideration. In the latter it refers to "prudent conduct," and to such right attitude toward God as would be rewarded by the divine blessing, expressed in man's material, social and spiritual well-being. In the former (chaps. 1-9), "Wisdom" is personified (cf. 1:20 ff.; chaps. 2, 3, etc.), and in some places is almost pictured as "an independent personality" (cf. chap. 8). According to Toy, it has in these chapters "a peculiar religious or divine character which it is not easy to define with precision. In chap. 8 it is both a human (vss. 1-21) and a divine quality (vss. 22-31)."<sup>2</sup> Such a developed conception implies a long period of speculation and hence a late date. According to some the possibility of Greek philosophical influence may be found in 8:22 ff., but this view is not generally accepted by Old Testament scholars.<sup>3</sup>

(c) The literary parallels as related to the date. The account of the divine work in Creation (chap. 8) is in ad-

<sup>1</sup> Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3916 (Toy).

<sup>3</sup> In favor of Greek influence in Prov. 8:22 ff., cf. Cornill, *Introd.* 444 ff. HDB, iv. 924b f. (Siegfried). EBi, iii. 3913 (Toy); iv. 5330 (Toy). Toy, *Prov.* xxii, 181. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 433. See also quotation from Duhm in Strahan, *Job*, 232 f., etc. Cf. contra, Cheyne, *Job* and *Sol.* 159 ff. G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 288. McFadyen, *Introd.* 261. HDB, iv. 142b (Nowack) = "rightly rejected by Kuenen, Baudissin and others," etc.

vance of Gen. 1 (P = c. 500 B.C.). The closest resemblance to chap. 8 is found in Job 28, but the opinion of scholars differs in reference to the question of the priority of these chapters.<sup>1</sup> The section as a whole has much affinity with Ecclesiasticus (especially chap. 24), c. 200–180 B.C., and also the Wisdom of Solomon (first cen. B.C.).

According to Toy, Proverbs resembles Ben-Sira (= Ecclus.) "in point of view, spirit and contents"; the special feature of resemblance being that neither claims divine inspiration. His inference is that this points to a post-prophetic, post-legal date.<sup>2</sup>

Among other arguments for the late composition of chaps. 1–9, which are advanced are: (d) the conception of Sheol in 9:18, which is not as in the rest of the O. Test. the place of departed spirits, but the abode of the wicked; (e) the inference that the sages are an influential class, and that wisdom has become a subject of discussion in the schools (cf. the form of address "my son," 1:8, 10, etc.; a characteristic wanting in the main body of the book, 10:1 ff.); and (f) the prominence of the sins of robbery (cf. 1:10 ff.) and unchastity (*e.g.* 2:16 ff.; 5). The latter is "relatively infrequent" in polygamous communities, hence its existence implies the post-exilic period when monogamy was the custom.

The above facts seem reasonably to require a date in the post-exilic period for the origin of this section. The exact time, however, is difficult to determine. Kautzsch concludes that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Nowack, who formerly assigned it to a time "shortly before the Exile," more recently concludes that a date c. 250 B.C. for this section and the book as a whole is approximately correct. He adds, "to bring the date further down is impossible, inasmuch as no reason is then evident why Sirach" (*i.e.* Ecclus.) "itself was not admitted to the Canon."<sup>4</sup> The early part of the Greek period, c. 300–250 B.C., may accordingly be assumed as a reasonably probable time for its composition.

The hortatory tone in Prov. 1–9 has commonly been appealed to as evidence of the influence of Deut., and hence as indicating

<sup>1</sup> For discussion of the relative date of Prov. 8 and Job 28, cf. Intros. and Comms. on these chaps.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3916 (Toy); cf. his Prov. xviii f. Cornill, Introd. 445.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, LOT, 153; also HDB, extra vol. 728b, n. †.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HDB, iv. 142b (Nowack).



the time of composition as somewhere in the reign of Josiah, *e.g.* c. 615 B.C. The words of the elder Delitzsch are frequently quoted in this connection: "who can fail to hear in Prov. i:7-ix an echo of the 'Shema' (= 'hear,' cf. Deut. 6:4-9; 11:18-21)."

Cf. on the other hand the conclusion of Montefiore that the references to the wealthy city in chaps. 1-9; the reminiscences of Deuteronomy; the mention of the king, are easier to be gotten over than the silence in reference to idolatry; the individualism; the praise of chastity; the monogamic point of view; and the general coolness and certainty of temper and tone.<sup>1</sup>

For some of the variant dates assigned to chaps. 1-9, cf. pp. 312 f., v. o.

*b. Prov. 30-31.* These chapters (which may conveniently be divided into three sections, viz. chap. 30; 31:1-9; 31:10-31, and which form an appendix to the main book of Proverbs) are generally considered the latest portion of the book. This conclusion is based on the following considerations: (*a*) the presence of occasional Aramaisms (*e.g.* 31:2 f., etc.); (*b*) the questioning (agnostic) spirit (30:1 ff.), which has its closest parallel in Ecclesiastes, c. 250-200 (?) B.C. rather than in Job, c. 350 (?) B.C.; (*c*) the allusion to a "fixed written revelation (30:5 f.) to which nothing is to be added and from which nothing is to be taken away," which implies a late period; (*d*) the literary form of these chapters, *e.g.* the alphabetical (or acrostic) poem (31:10-31), the artificial character of which indicates a relatively late date; and the numerical proverbs (30:15-31), whose closest analogies are found in the productions of the early Rabbinical school; and (*e*) the imitation of earlier literature (30:5, cf. Pss. 12:6 and 18:30).

The commercial activity indicated in 31:10 ff. has also been cited in favor of a late date, but this in itself is not decisive. Some, while assigning 30:1-31:9 to the post-exilic age, favor the pre-exilic origin of 31:10-31.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the above facts, while the exact date cannot be determined with certainty, it may be inferred with probability that they originated in the Greek period. If the time of composition given for Prov. 1-9 in this volume is correct, viz. 300-250 B.C., then chaps 30-31 may have been written

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jew. Quart. Rev., July, 1890, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Intro.* 153, 156 (possibly "early monarchy").

c. 250–200 B.C., on the basis of the generally accepted view that they are the latest portion of the book.

For some of the variant (post-exilic) dates for chaps. 30–31, cf. p. 314, v. *y*.

*c. The combination of the different collections of Proverbs.* The time of the compilation of the book of Proverbs depends upon what editor combined the various collections, and how much was included, — whether the great bulk of the present book or substantially the whole.

That chaps. 1–9 were prefixed as an introduction to at least the main collection, 10 : 1–22 : 16, is a matter of common agreement. The opinion of scholars, however, differs in reference to how much, if any, more was included in that editing. Driver, who holds the view of the late pre-exilic origin of chaps. 1–9, considers that they were written as an introduction to chaps. 10 : 1–22 : 16 alone, to which the other collections were subsequently added.<sup>1</sup> Some (*e.g.* Cornill) ascribe the publication of the whole book to the author of chaps. 1–9; others (Wildeboer) all except 31 or 31 : 10 ff.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. also Toy, who holds that chaps. 30–31 were added by the latest editor, *i.e.* after collections chaps. 1–29 had been made up.<sup>3</sup>

The question is difficult to determine; but it is not a matter of great importance. According to the chronological scheme adopted above, to the author of chaps. 1–9 is attributed the combination of all the rest of the book, except chaps. 30–31, which are considered a still later supplement. Hence the date of the compilation of the book may be taken tentatively as c. 300–250 B.C.

“Exactly when and how the various parts were combined into a book it is hardly possible to say . . . the main point is that the process probably went on through the fourth and third centuries, and the appendix 30 f. may have been added still later.” “We may probably refer the present form of the book to the Greek period.”<sup>4</sup>

For some of the variant dates assigned to the compilation of Prov., cf. p. 312, v. *n*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 405.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. references, HDB, iv. 143a (Nowack).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Toy, Prov. xxx, 517. EBi, iii. 3917 f. (Toy).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EBi, iii. 3918, 3913 (Toy).

<sup>5</sup> For further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Proverbs, cf. list of authorities, p. 122, n. <sup>1</sup>.

## 3. MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

A. *Ecclesiastes*.<sup>1</sup> This book of the Old Testament Wisdom literature,<sup>2</sup> in which Solomon is impersonated as the speaker, is now held by practically all scholars to be a work of a much later time. The following are some of the important facts which substantiate this conclusion: (a) the social and political conditions reflected indicate not only an age when the Jews had lost their independence, but also a time of instability of government and of oppression. This is seen in the references to injustice practised (3:16; 4:1 ff.; 5:8 f.; 8:9); the reversals of fortune due to despotism (10:5 ff.); political upheaval (10:7); employment of spies (10:20), etc. (b) Corresponding to these conditions a spirit of depression and a lack of hope for the future of the community are manifested (*e.g.* 6:12). (c) The language and style of the book also require a late date. The judgment of the elder Delitzsch on this feature of the book is often quoted, viz. that if its language is old Solomonic, "then there is no history of the Hebrew language." While there are numerous affinities with the latest Hebrew found in the Old Testament, such as Chronicles (c. 300–250 B.C.), Ezra-Nehemiah (c. 300–250 B.C.) and Esther (c. 250–150 B.C.), it has as well many features first found in Ecclesiasticus (c. 200–180 B.C.) or in the Mishnah (c. 200 A.D.). The conclusion, therefore, of Driver and many others is that linguistically it stands by itself in the Old Testament.

Cf. the Persian word "pārdēs," rendered "parks," 2:5. See p. 282 (c), n.<sup>1</sup>.

The linguistic features are, especially, deterioration of syntax; cumbrous sentences; and admixture of Aramaisms.

(d) The religious tone and conceptions of the book are in harmony with a late date. While the worship of the Temple is closely observed there is a lack of religious enthusiasm and little comfort is derived from its services (*e.g.*

<sup>1</sup> The name *Ecclesiastes* is derived from the LXX, which is a translation of the Hebrew title "Qohéleth" (1:2, etc.). The exact meaning of this word is uncertain (cf. E. V. "Preacher"), though its connection with the Hebrew word, "qāhāl" (= "assembly") is generally conceded. Cf. for further discussion Comms. in loc. and Intros.

<sup>2</sup> For the books of the Wisdom literature, see p. 235, n.<sup>1</sup>.

5:1 ff.). The fear of God, which is inculcated, restrains but does not inspire (*e.g.* 5:7; 7:18, 26; 8:12 f., etc.).

"Something of the well-bred indifference of the Sadducee has crept over men's souls."<sup>1</sup> "The religious spirit of Israel is seen to be completely exhausted."<sup>2</sup>

In view of these facts the book is now generally assigned either to the close of the Persian dominion,<sup>3</sup> or later in the Greek period, during the years of conflict between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ (c. 300 ff. B.C.), but before the stirring years of the Maccabean struggle (170–164 B.C.), when the national feeling was so strongly revived.

The lack of national feeling, the linguistic characteristics, and the possible indirect influence from Greek speculation favor rather the later of the two periods. And while it is impossible to fix with certainty the exact date, the view now entertained by many scholars that it belongs c. 250–200 B.C. may be taken as a very probable one.

A number of scholars think that there are clear indications of Greek teaching in the book: *e.g.* Epicureanism (cf. happiness in the reasonable enjoyment of the good things of life; see 2:24 f.; 3:12 f., 22; 9:7–9, etc.); and Stoic doctrine (cf. the conception of recurring cycles; see 1:2–11; and determinism, see chap. 3).<sup>4</sup>

This view, however, is opposed by a large number of scholars. According to Cheyne, "indirect Greek philosophical influence is all that is quite certain."<sup>5</sup>

Many scholars hold that the author of Ecclesiasticus (200–180 B.C.) knew and made use of Ecclesiastes. According to this view Eccles. cannot be later than c. 200 B.C. This harmonizes with the date given above.<sup>6</sup>

That Solomon was not the author of Ecclesiastes has already been shown by the considerations mentioned above. In addition the following points may be referred to: (a) the tone of the book is not that of Solomon. There is no ground in the book for the popular view, that it is the product of his old age after repenting of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, *Introd.* 161.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 1161 f. (Davidson).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. arguments in Plumptre, *Eccles.* 29 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, 30 f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Jew. Relig. Life*, 198 f. Barton, *Eccles.* 32–43.

<sup>6</sup> For list of the passages in *Ecclus.* dependent upon *Eccles.* and grounds for this conclusion, cf. Barton, *Eccles.* 53 ff.

idolatry, for no note of penitence is found in it; (b) the political and social allusions are inconsistent with Solomonic authorship, *e.g.* the mention of unrighteous judgment (cf. 3:16; also 4:1; 5:8); also the references to other kings (cf. 4:13-16; 10:16 f.); (c) it contains also descriptions which are not correct historically, and which seem impossible for Solomon to have written (*e.g.* "I . . . was king, etc.," 1:12, but Solomon was king till his death. Cf. also the statements in 1:16; 2:7, 9, which are not in keeping with the fact that David, Solomon's father, was the founder of Jerusalem as the royal city). And (d) to the above may be added the fact that the observations in the book are from the standpoint of a subject, not that of a king (*e.g.* 3:16; 4:1, etc.).

Different explanations are given of the impersonation of Solomon in the book; *e.g.* (a) as an attempt to represent what might have been Solomon's reflections on life;<sup>1</sup> or (b) the choice of Solomon, who was regarded as a great sage and founder of the wise men as a class, as a fitting mouth-piece for the writer's reflections, since that king's experiences and observations would be regarded as typical. The author's modesty might well be one of the factors also in this literary device.<sup>2</sup> In any case it is to be remembered that the dramatic impersonation of character has at all times been employed legitimately. So in this instance there is no ground for regarding it as a literary forgery or an attempt to deceive. As a matter of fact the Solomonic guise is soon abandoned.

Among earlier dates given to Eccles. cf. toward the end of the Persian period; *e.g.* Cheyne, formerly following Ewald, Delitzsch, Ginsburg, etc.

Among later dates = the 2nd cen. B.C., H. P. Smith, Toy, Siegfried, etc. c. 200 B.C. (Gray, cf. c. 198 B.C. = Barton). The time of Herod the Great, 40 (39)-4 B.C. = Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, xv, 199 ff.

For different views of the composite character of the book, cf. p. 312, iv. p.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robertson, Early Relig. Isr. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cheyne, Job and Sol. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Ecclesiastes, LOT, 465 ff. Bennett, Introd. 160 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 162 ff. McFadyen, Introd. 298 ff. Cornill, Introd. 447 ff. Gray, Introd. 149 ff. Moore, LOT, 241 ff. HDB, i. 637 ff. (Peake); iv. 927 (Siegfried); iii. 613b (Woods); extra vol. 731 f. (Kautzsch). EBi, ii. 1155 ff. (Davidson); iv. 5334 f. (Toy). Intros. in Comms. on Eccles., espec. Int. Crit. (Barton); Camb. B. (Plumptre); Cen. B. (Martin). Bennett, Primer, etc., 115 f. Cheyne, Job and Sol. 199 ff. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 349, 358 f. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, 183 ff. Genung, Koheleth, espec. 16 ff. Kent, Jew. People, 275 f., 319 f. Wade, O. T. Hist. 20, cf. 508. G. A. Smith, Modern Crit., etc., 286. Ryle, Canon, etc., 130, 148 f., 187. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 285. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 337 ff.

*B. Esther.* The scene of this story is placed in the reign of Ahasuerus (= Xerxes), 485–465 B.C. The date of its composition, however, belongs to a later time. This conclusion is based on the following facts: (a) the statement in 1:1 shows that the book was written subsequent to the reign of Ahasuerus (*i.e.* Xerxes); (b) the way in which Persian customs are explained (1:13 f.; 8:8) most naturally implies that the Persian dominion had ended, *i.e.* that it was later than 332 B.C.; (c) the linguistic features of the book indicate a later age than that of Xerxes, *e.g.* “late words and idioms”; “much deterioration in syntax”; and the presence of words of Aramaic and Persian origin.

“... the whole nature of the style, which is characterized by a certain lack of ease, seems to show that the author spoke and thought in Aramaic, and had learned Hebrew merely as a literary language.”<sup>1</sup>

And (d) the historical inaccuracies and improbabilities of the book can be best explained on the supposition of a date much later than the time of the events described.

Some of these improbabilities, etc., are: (a) the holding of a six-months’ feast (1:4), which would require the absence of the different governors from their provinces; (b) the decree permitting the wholesale slaughter by the Jews of their enemies (8:9 ff.; 9:1 ff.); (c) the manner in which the story develops and culminates, “its successive incidents arrange themselves so perfectly and lead up to the conclusion with such neat precision, that it is not easy to assign it to the normal course of events”;<sup>2</sup> (d) the impossibility of Mordecai being carried away to Babylon in the time of Jehoiachin (2:5 f.), 597 B.C., and becoming prime-minister in the 12th year of Xerxes (8:2; cf. 3:7) = 474–473 B.C. (e) According to ancient historians, Amestris, a cruel and superstitious woman was Xerxes’ queen between the 7th and 12th years of his reign (2:16; 3:7; cf. Herod. vii. 114; ix. 112), and held this position till the king’s death. She cannot be identified with Esther, because she was the daughter of one of the Persian generals, and was married to Xerxes before the alleged appearance of Esther. Esther cannot be explained as one of the women of the harem, for the story represents her clearly as being sole queen (cf. 2:17, etc.). It is to be noted further, that according to Persian law the king was obliged to select his queen from one of the seven noble families

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, ii. 1403 (Nöldeke).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Adeney, *Ezra*, etc., 353.

of his realm (Herod. iii. 84). And (f) it is difficult to account for the king's and Haman's ignorance of Esther's nationality, since Mordecai, who was known as a Jew (3:4), is represented as being frequently in the king's gate and in constant communication with Esther, etc.

On account of these facts the book is now generally assigned to the Greek period. By many it is placed in the early part of it, but in view of the intense spirit of hostility exhibited in it toward foreign peoples, it may with greater probability be dated sometime in the century beginning with 250 B.C.

Note also the fact that neither the name of Esther nor Mordecai is found among the list of worthies in Ecclus. 44-49 = c. 200-180 B.C.

While the question of the historical accuracy of the events recorded in the Old Testament books lies strictly outside the scope of this volume, it is necessary in the case of Esther to determine to some extent that problem. If Esther is to be taken as an historical writing, then, though written at a later time, it ought to be placed in the chronological outline of Biblical material in the time of Xerxes, where the scene is laid. But though the historical character of the book is still maintained by some scholars, in view of its inaccuracies and improbabilities it is now commonly regarded either as a work based on historical facts, or as a pure Jewish *haggada* like the Apocryphal books of Tobit and Judith.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is assigned in this volume, in the outline of Biblical material, to the period 250 ff. B.C.

Among those holding that Esther is based on historical facts are Driver, Adeney, Bennett, Wade, Streane, etc.

Among those holding that the book is a *haggada* or religious story, cf. Kautzsch, Sayce, H. P. Smith, Cheyne, Kent, Hunter, McFadyen, Nöldeke, Moore, Paton, etc.

"We have no right to demand that the Bible shall not contain anything but what is strictly historical. The book of Job has long been accepted as a sublime poem, founded on fact perhaps, but owing its chief value to the divinely inspired thoughts of its author. The Book of Jonah is regarded by many cautious and devout readers as an allegory replete with important lessons concerning a

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish *haggada* = "a moralizing tale or romance attached mostly to historical names or events." Cf. LOT, 484, n. \*, 487, note.

very ugly aspect of Jewish selfishness. These two works are not the less valuable because men are coming to understand that their places in the library of the Hebrew Canon are not among the strict records of history. And the book of Esther need not be dishonored when some room is allowed for the play of the creative imagination of its author."<sup>1</sup>

Some of the variant dates for Esther are as follows: the early part of the Greek period, 332 ff. B.C., Adeney, Driver, Wade, etc. Cf. Streane = not later than 300 B.C. Between 300 B.C. and the Christian era (Gray); 3rd or 2nd cen. B.C. (Moore).

The 2nd cen. B.C. = Kent, Kautzsch, McFadyen, Cheyne, Nöldeke, etc. Cf. towards 135 B.C. (Cornill); c. 130 B.C. (Davies); later than 135 B.C. (Paton); c. 100 B.C. (H. P. Smith).

(In view of the "strong national spirit and pride" and the attitude of bitterness towards the heathen reflected in the book, the successful outcome of the Maccabean struggle is implied, according to many recent scholars; hence a product of the 2nd cen. B.C.)

According to some authorities 9 : 20-10 : 3 comes from a different hand from the rest of the book. Cf. Paton, *Esth.*, 57 f.<sup>2</sup>

*C. Daniel.* The scene of the stories of this book (cf. chaps. 1-6), is laid in Babylon in the time of the Exile, but the evidence which the book furnishes is of such a character, that scholars are generally agreed that its origin and application belong to a much later time.

The following are the principal facts upon which this conclusion is based: 1st. *The linguistic argument:* (a) the Hebrew of the book is not that of Ezekiel (592 ff. B.C.), nor even of Haggai and Zechariah (520-518 B.C.), but is more nearly allied to the later books of Chronicles (300-250 B.C.), Ecclesiastes (c. 250-200 B.C.) and Esther (250-150 B.C.). This is indicated by the presence of new words, and by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Adeney, *Ezra*, etc., 354.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Esther, LOT, 478 ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 121 f. Kautzsch, LOT, 130 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 310 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 256 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 110 ff. Moore, LOT, 133 ff. HDB, i. 773 ff. (M'Clymont); iii. 614 (Woods). EBi, ii. 1400 ff. (Nöldeke); 2086 f. (Moore). *Intros.* in *Comms.* on Esther, espec. *Int. Crit.* (Paton); *Expos. B.* (Adeney); *Camb. B.* (Streane); *Cen. B.* (Davies). Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 111. Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, etc., 469 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 485 f., 501. Kent, *Jew. People*, 274 f. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 39 f., 471 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 473. McFadyen, *Hists.* 338 ff. Cheyne, *Founders*, etc., 359 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 149 ff., cf. 216 ff. Hunter, *After Exile*, i. 237 f. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 294. Fowler, *Hist. Lit.*, etc., 386 f.



labored and inelegant syntax; (b) the large Aramaic section of the book (2: 4b-7: 28) is in the Western Aramaic dialect spoken near Palestine. Aramaic was not employed by the Jews in the Captivity but was adopted by them subsequent to it. This linguistic feature argues, therefore, for a date later than the events described.<sup>1</sup> (c) The number of Persian words, at least fifteen, especially in the Aramaic part of the book [cf. above (b)] is a significant fact. It seems impossible to explain such, if the book was written in the Babylonian period, in describing for instance Babylonian institutions (e.g. 3: 2 ff.) before the conquest of Cyrus in 538 B.C. On the other hand it is easy to account for them if the book is late, as Persian words are found in Chronicles, Ezra-Neemiah, Song of Solomon, etc.; and (d) the presence of at least three Greek words points to a time later than the conquests of Alexander the Great, 333 ff. B.C., by means of which Greek influence was disseminated through Asia.

Among the words of Persian origin are those translated, "dainties" (1: 5, etc.); "satraps," "judges" or "chief soothsayers," "counsellors" (3: 2), etc. No Persian words, it is claimed, are found in Assyro-Babylonian literature before the time of Cyrus, except the name of the god Mithra.

The three Greek words alluded to above in (d) are *kitharis* ("harp," E. V. 3: 5, 7, etc.); *psalterion* ("psaltery," E. V. 3: 5, 7, etc.); *sumphonia* ("dulcimer," A. V. 3: 5, 15). It is maintained that whatever may be the case with *kitharis*, it is incredible that *psalterion* and *sumphonia* could have reached Babylon c. 550 B.C. (i.e. the time of the historic Daniel). For at that time "the arts and inventions of civilized life" went from the East to Greece and not from Greece Eastward. *Psalterion* was first used by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), and *sumphonia* was first used by Plato (429-348 B.C.). "If words like *census*, *centurion*, *legion* in the New Testament bear testimony to the Romans in Palestine, the book of Daniel by similar reasoning must be placed in the Greek age."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attempts have been made in recent years to disprove this conclusion regarding the Aramaic of Dan. It is claimed that it is "identical" with that "spoken in B.C. 500 from Babylon to the S. of Egypt." For proof, however, that the Aramaic of this book differs in essential respects from the Aramaic of Babylon or Egypt in the time of the Exile, and for evidence in favor of the position stated in the text above, see the able review by Driver in the latest ed. of LOT, 503 f., 514 f.; also pp. xxxiv ff. (in the Addenda section of LOT).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CHB, Hex. i. p. 2.

The conclusion from the linguistic argument, as stated by Driver, is that "the *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great*" (332 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

2nd. *The religious conceptions* of the book strongly favor a late date, e.g. the angelology, which is the most developed of any in the Old Testament (cf. names assigned to the angels, 8:16; 9:21; 10:13, etc.; different ranks, 10:13, 20, etc.; and the office of guardianship of different countries attributed to them, 10:13 ff., 20 f.). Also the doctrine of resurrection and future judgment (e.g. 12:2 f.) and the Messianic thought (2:31-45; 7:2-27; 9:24-27; 12:1-3, 10-13) indicate an advance beyond all other parts of the Old Testament.

"... as far as a doctrinal development can be found in the Old Testament the book of Daniel comes after all the other Old Testament writings, and approximates most closely to the Jewish literature of the first century B.C." <sup>2</sup>

3rd. The evident *culminating interest of the book in the relation existing between the Jews and Antiochus Epiphanes*, 170 ff. B.C.,<sup>3</sup> is a fact of great importance in its bearing on the date. In chapters 7-12 are found four historical reviews in the form of visions, each of which ends with a description of Antiochus and his dealings with the Jews (e.g. 7:8, 20-25; 8:9-14, 23-25; 11:21-45; 12:1, 7, 11 f.). While the time of Antiochus is thus dwelt upon with more or less detail, the four centuries succeeding the age of the historical Daniel are passed over with only brief mention. From the analogy of all other Biblical writings, the natural inference is that the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes was the time of the composition of this book, a conclusion which is strongly supported by the previous facts considered.

Another confirmatory point in this connection is that the times subsequent to Antiochus are described not specifically, "but only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 508. Driver, Dan. lxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HDB, i. 554a (E. L. Curtis).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for the historical outline of the conflict between Antiochus Epiphanes and the Jews, pp. 315 ff., ii. a.

symbolize the general Messianic hope of Israel" (cf. 2:44 f.; 7:27; 12:1 ff.). This harmonizes with authorship in the time of Antiochus. If it be maintained that the detailed descriptions of Antiochus are predictions, it is sufficient to reply that predictions of this character are without analogy in other parts of the Bible. Prediction is not "inverted history."

4th. From the standpoint of a late date, the *anachronisms and such historical inaccuracies* as are found in the book, which are almost impossible to explain if it were written in the time of the historical Daniel, can be easily accounted for: e.g. the representation of the Chaldeans (1:4; 2:2, etc.) as a caste of the wise men; Belshazzar described in chap. 5 as king of Babylon; Darius the Mede as Belshazzar's successor (5:31-6:1 ff.; 9:1; 11:1), etc.

In the time of the historic Daniel, the term "Chaldeans" was a national designation for the ruling power in Babylonia. It was not till after the downfall of the Babylonian empire that it came gradually to acquire the meaning of "magician." According to Sayce, this points to a time "when a Jewish writer could assign to a Hebrew word a signification derived from its Greek equivalent." This implies an age "later than that of Alexander the Great." . . . "In the eyes of the Assyriologist the use of the word Chaldean in Daniel would alone be sufficient to indicate the date of the work with unerring certainty."<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of history Nabonidus was the last king of Babylon, and Belshazzar was his son. Even on the supposition that the latter possibly held command in Babylon, while his father was in the field in charge of the army, it is difficult to account for a contemporary writer speaking of him as king (cf. especially 5:28, 30, which seem to refer to him as sole king). Further, Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadrezzar (cf. statement 5:2, 11, 18, etc.) even by descent, as his father Nabonidus belonged to a different family.

Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was succeeded by Cyrus the Persian, the first ruler of the new empire. From the cuneiform inscriptions it is known that Cyrus gained possession of Babylon without fighting in 538 B.C. The account in Dan. 5 seems to be based on the rebellion and capture of Babylon in the reign of Darius Hystaspis (522-486 B.C.). The conception of a Median kingdom succeeding the Babylonian may have been suggested by the predictions of Isa. 13:17; 21:2; Jer. 51:11, 28. It is also to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sayce, Higher Crit., etc., 533-535.

noted that in the earlier Greek writers the term "Mede" takes the place of "Persian."

For other historical inaccuracies in Daniel: *e.g.* a siege of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (1:1 f.), and Darius described (9:1) as the son of Ahasuerus (= Xerxes), whereas he was the father of Xerxes; cf. Introsds. and Comms. on these verses.

5th. *The position of Daniel in the Hebrew Canon*, not in the second division, the Prophets, but in the third, the Hagiographa, harmonizes with the late origin of the book.

If Daniel were a product of the Exile, it most naturally would have found its place in the second division of the Canon, which was probably closed c. 250 (or 200) B.C. See p. 309, v. l.

Another fact may also be mentioned here, viz. that in post-exilic literature there is no trace of the influence of Daniel or reference to its existence, but it is referred to in writings after the Maccabean struggle; *e.g.* the Sibylline Verses iii. 388 ff., cf. Dan. 7:20, 24 (c. 140 B.C.); and in 1 Macc. 2:59 f., cf. Dan. chaps. 3 and 6 (c. 100 or 90 B.C.).

Another reason given for the late date of Daniel is the absence of the name of this hero in the list of worthies in Eccus. xlv-1 (c. 200-180 B.C.).

Cf. also the reference to the "books" in 9:2 (from which Jeremiah is quoted), which implies the existence and probably the close of the Prophetic Canon = c. 250 (or 200) B.C.

6th. *The fitting character of the message of the book in the time of the Maccabean struggle* lends additional support to the facts already considered. In every crisis in the history recorded in the Old Testament messengers and teachers were providentially raised up to encourage, instruct or rebuke the people at the time when the particular need arose. In this great struggle in the reign of Antiochus, when a most determined effort was made by this king to destroy the Jewish religion, the need of a message of this character is self-evident. Such the book of Daniel most graphically and appropriately furnishes: *e.g.* the lesson of fidelity to God in view of heathen allurements and intimidations to apostatize (temptations which exerted a tremendous power at that time), which was taught by the example of Daniel and his friends (chaps. 1-6), whose lives were miraculously preserved; also the encouragement of a speedy termination of the conflict to be followed by the glorious Messianic age

(*e.g.* 2:44 f.; 7:27; 12:1 ff.), after the analogy of prophetic encouragements in great crises.

"The lessons of the 'fiery furnace' and 'the lions' den,' chaps. 3 and 6, never could have been more fitly presented than when 'came there forth out of Israel transgressors of the law and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us' (1 Macc. 1:11), and when Antiochus commanded the worship of foreign deities on pain of death (1 Macc. 1:41-50). The stories of the humbling of Nebuchadnezzar (chap. 4) and the fall of Belshazzar (chap. 5) would also be fraught with particular consolation when Israel was oppressed by the heathen. The visions (chaps. 7-12), whatever view is taken of their date, are universally acknowledged to have been primarily designed for consolation during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes."<sup>1</sup>

From the facts (*a*) that though the conflict with Antiochus is so prominent, no mention is made of the victories of Judas Maccabæus; nor (*b*) of the recovery and reconsecration of the Temple, Dec. 165 B.C.; and (*c*) that the end of the conflict is predicted (*e.g.* 7:25 ff.; 8:25; 11:45), it seems clear that the book was written while the persecution was in progress. The date accordingly may be assigned with probability between 167 and the end of 165 B.C.

The precise date depends on the interpretation of 8:14, whether it implies the dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus in Dec. 165 B.C.; or whether it is a prediction of that event. Cf. p. 320, v. *e*.

In harmony also with the late origin of the book is its apocalyptic character, a form of literature which reflects a period of danger and persecution. It came into existence during the later years of Judaism, and seems to have been the outgrowth of the conviction that prophecy in Israel had ceased (cf. Ps. 74:9). Two characteristics of it need to be noted, viz. (*a*) its use of symbols, and (*b*) the element of artificiality as far as outward form and standpoint are concerned: *i.e.* the writer does not speak in his own name, but in that of one of the great men of the past, and from his standpoint to the actual author's own day (cf. the books of Enoch, Assumption of Moses, etc.). This was in accordance with the literary customs of the age in which these writings sprang up. (Cf. also the earlier literature, Deuteronomy, cf. p. 129; the document P, cf. p. 247; and later, Ecclesiastes, cf. pp. 289 f.) The symbolism and the element of obscurity (such as are found in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, i. 554 (E. L. Curtis).

Daniel) are due to the circumstances of the times, in which these literary productions had their origin, viz. periods of danger, in which the messages were expressed in a manner intelligible to the initiated but not to others, from motives of prudence.

It seems clear, from what has already been stated, that the above conclusion as to date does not militate against the element of true prediction in the book. It contains a definite promise of deliverance which was wonderfully fulfilled (cf. 7:25 f.; 8:25 f.; 11:45 ff.), — a prediction which originated in the conflict and crisis of this great struggle, precisely after the analogy of Isaiah's assurances of deliverance from the power of Assyria in the great issues of his day (cf. Isa. 10:33, etc.).

The conclusion as to the origin and character of Daniel given above "doubtless will appear to some to destroy its religious value and render it unworthy of a place within the sacred Canon. No one, however, under the modern view, can read the book without being taught lessons of sublime faith, and having a firmer assurance of the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of God. The book has in the past been blessed as an instrument of the Holy Spirit for the strengthening of the Church, and interpreted in the light of its real origin, this will continue and be enhanced. Great difficulties in receiving its lessons will be removed, and the Church will be spared endless profitless discussion and exegesis necessitated by the old view."<sup>1</sup>

The unity of Daniel has been the common view though different theories of its composite character have been advocated. Cf. the recent conclusion of Kent that chaps. 1-6 belong to 245-225 B.C.; while chaps. 7-12 alone reflect the Maccabean struggle = c. 166 B.C. Cf. contra, Gray.<sup>2 3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, i. 555a (E. L. Curtis).

<sup>2</sup> Kent, Sermons, etc., 33 ff.; cf. ref. to Torrey's view in LOT, 514. See contra, Gray, Introd. 236 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for further details in reference to introduction, etc., of Daniel, LOT, 488 ff. Bennett, Introd. 224 ff. Kautzsch, LOT, 138 ff., 203. McFadyen, Introd. 316 ff. Cornill, Introd. 382 ff. Gray, Introd. 233 ff. Moore, LOT, 178 ff. HDB, i. 552 ff. (E. L. Curtis); iii. 614 (Woods); extra vol. 714 f. (Kautzsch). EBi, i. 1002 ff. (Kamphausen); ii. 2087 (Moore). Intros. in Comms. on Dan., espec. Expos. B. (Farrar); Camb. B. (Driver); Cen. B. (Charles). Bevan, Dan. 11 ff. Bennett, Primer, etc., 114 f. Sayce, Higher Crit., etc., 497 ff., 524 ff. Kent, Sermons, etc., 33 ff., 423 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 451 ff., 501. Kent, Jew. People, 278 f., 331 ff. Riggs, Jew. People, 7 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 24-27, 503 f. Porter, Apoc. Writers, espec. 97 ff., cf. 79 ff. Ryle, Canon, etc., 122, 131 f., 145 ff., 223 f. Cornill, Prophs. Isr. 174 ff. Cheyne, Founders, etc., 363 ff. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 208, 292 f. Fowler, Hist. Lit., etc., 382 f.

- X. B. LITERATURE OF THE GRECIAN PERIOD, CHRONOLOGICALLY OUTLINED, 332-165 B.C. Prophetical writings = Zechariah 9-14; Jonah. Poetical writings = Song of Solomon; proverbs and compilation of Proverbs; psalms and compilation of Psalms. Miscellaneous writings = Ecclesiastes; Esther and Daniel<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION I, 332-c. 250 (200) B.C.

i. *The period 332-c. 250 B.C.* No Biblical historical records. Cf. below, n. ii. b.

ii. *Chronological and historical survey of the first part of the Greek period, 332-c. 250 B.C.*

a. The events determining the Greek period of Old Test. history and literature are, on the one hand, the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great, in 332 B.C.; and on the other hand, the victory of the Jews under the Maccabean leaders in 165 B.C., by which they practically gained their independence from Antiochus. Some of the psalms and the compilation of Pss. 90-150; some proverbs and the compilation of the book of Proverbs (possibly Esther also, see p. 293), may date from the Maccabean period = 165 ff. B.C.

b. As the historical books of the O. Test. do not chronicle any occurrences after the year 432 B.C. (cf. Neh. 13:6), it will be necessary here, as in connection with the closing century of the Persian period, cf. pp. 268 f., 273 f., to furnish an historical outline of the main events relating to the condition of the Jews during this age, so far as it can be learned from the Biblical literature available and from outside history. (For the bearing of Chronicles on this period cf. p. 305, v. g.)

The Persian empire came to an end by the conquests of Alexander the Great, who defeated Darius in the battle of Issus, 333 B.C.; mastered Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine (including Jerusalem probably), and Egypt, 333-332 B.C.; and who in the following year gained a final victory over the Persians at Arbela. He spent the remainder of his reign — his death occurred in 324-323 B.C. — in

<sup>1</sup> For other literary productions assigned to this period by different scholars, see pp. 302 f., iii. 2. 6; 306 ff., iii. 7. 8; 318, iii. 3; 322, iii. 5. 6.

extending his empire, especially in the East. Zech. 9:1-8 may possibly reflect the progress of his invasion toward Egypt in 332 B.C. The reference in Josephus (Ant. xi. 8, §§ 3 ff.) to the king's visit to Jerusalem is not regarded as trustworthy. The political fortunes of the Jews under Alexander probably remained the same as under their Persian masters.

After the death of Alexander there followed a period of conflict between his generals, four striving, as far as Asia and Egypt were concerned, for the mastery, viz. Antigonos, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus, the final result of which was the supremacy of Ptolemy in Egypt, and Seleucus in northern Syria and the rest of Asia. During the next century and more, in the different wars between these two rival powers, the Jews undoubtedly suffered much, as Palestine lay between the two kingdoms. In 320 B.C. (or possibly later, as some think, *e.g.* 312 B.C., or 301 B.C.) Ptolemy I attacked Palestine and according to Josephus (Ant. xii. 1; c. Ap. 1:22) captured Jerusalem. Many Jews and Samaritans were carried off to Egypt at this time. During the remainder of this century (*i.e.* up to 300 B.C.), the control of Palestine by Egypt was wrested from that power (with the exception of a few years) by Antigonos of Phrygia. From 301 B.C. (= the battle of Ipsus) throughout the following century, with but few exceptions, Palestine was under the dominion of the Ptolemies, though the Seleucidæ never ceased to claim it. Especially during the years of conflict between these powers, 264-248 B.C., the Jews must have suffered severely. These years are probably summarized in Dan. 11:7-9. These hostile powers may also be referred to in Zech. 10:10 f., *i.e.* Egypt, and Assyria (= Syria; cf. Ezra 6:22, where Assyria = Persia; and Lam. 5:6 where it = Babylonia).

Two facts of importance during this period need to be noted: (a) one was that Egypt became an attractive country to the Jews. Many settled there and became prosperous and influential. Alexandria especially had a large Jewish population. The rule of the Ptolemies was on the whole a tolerant one, and the Jews preferred it to that of the Seleucidæ. (b) The other fact was the influence of Greek customs and thought. The Greeks followed in the train of Alexander's conquests and settled along the Syrian coast. The Jews of Judea were surrounded by cities, which were largely Greek in population. This influence eventually affected them (cf. especially in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, c. 170 ff. B.C. cf. pp. 315 f.), and possibly it is reflected in the book of Ecclesiastes.

For the leading events in the relation between Egypt and Syria during this period, cf. under Dan. 11 (see pp. 320 f., v. g.).

For the remaining historical outline of the Greek period relating



to the fortunes of the Jews during the ascendancy of the Seleucidæ, cf. pp. 315 ff., ii. a.<sup>1</sup>

iii. *Literary productions*, 332–c. 250 (200) B.C.

1. *Prophetic messages of Zechariah*, chaps. 9–14. c. 300–250 (?) B.C.

Chap. 9. Jehovah's judgment upon Syria, Phœnicia and Philistia, etc.

10. Jehovah the source of help to His people, etc.

11: 1–17 + 13: 7–9. Symbolical representation of the prophet as ruler, etc.

12: 1–13: 6. Besieged Jerusalem relieved and her foes destroyed, etc.

14. The escape of those left in Jerusalem, etc.

2. *Other prophetic literature possibly contemporary*.

a. Isa. 19: 16–25 is assigned by Cheyne to the last years of the reign of Ptolemy I (322–285 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

3. *Psalms* 84–89 = a *miscellaneous appendix to Pss.* 42–83. c. 300 (?) B.C.

4. *The Song of Solomon (Canticles)*. c. 300 (?) B.C.

Chap. 1: 2–8. Praise of the bridegroom by the bride, etc.

1: 9–2: 7. Each sings the praises of the other, etc.

2: 8–17. Love in the springtime.

3: 1–5. The bride's dream.

3: 6–11. The bridegroom's procession.

4: 1–5: 1. The bride's charms.

5: 2–6: 3. The bridegroom's beauty.

6: 4–13. Praise given to the bride.

7: 1–10. The bride praised in the sword dance.

7: 11–8: 4. Her longing.

8: 5–7. The incomparable power of love.

8: 8–10. The bride's proud reply to her brothers.

8: 11–12, 13–14. The two vineyards; the conclusion.

5. *The prophetic story of Jonah*. c. 300 (?) B.C.

Chap. 1. Jonah seeks to escape from his mission; his fate.

2. The prophetic prayer of thanksgiving; his deliverance.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the historical background of the Greek period, Kent, *Jew. People*, 271 ff., 284 ff. H. P. Smith, 413 ff. G. A. Smith, *Book of XII*, ii. 439 ff. HDB, i. 60 f.; 105 (Moss); ii. 260 f. (Conybeare); 515b (Barnes); 587b (Conder); iv. 170 f. (Moss); 432 f. (Macpherson). EBi, i. 112 (Woodhouse); ii. 1247 f. (W. Max Müller); 2010 (Jülicher and Cheyne); 2259 f. (Guthe); 2426 (G. A. Smith); iii. 3972 f. (anonymous); iv. 4347 ff. (Woodhouse). Sanders, etc., *Prophs.* ii. 324 ff. Driver, *Dan.* xxxiii ff., 164 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 487 ff. Sanders, *Hist. Hebrs.* 279 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Introd. Isa.* 105. Cheyne, *Isa.* (SBOT), 98 f., 189 f. See also refs. p. 97, n.<sup>1</sup>, of this volume.

3. The prophet's mission to Nineveh; its success.

4. The prophet's displeasure; the divine lesson, etc.

6. *The books of Chronicles and the compilation of Ezra-Nehemiah.*

c. 300-250 B.C.

1 Chr. 1-9. Genealogical lists.

10-29 + 2 Chr. (See outline of history United and Divided Kingdoms, pp. 74-84, 133-169.)<sup>1</sup>

iv. *Composition of the literary productions (+ notes on the Song of Solomon), 332 ff. B.C.*

a. The suggestion, originally made by Ewald, that Zech. 13:7-9 forms the conclusion of chap. 11 has been accepted by most scholars for the following reasons: (a) it is disconnected as it stands with the sections preceding and following it; (b) it contains the same figure as that of chap. 11, and ending with a promise forms a fitting conclusion to 11:15-17; and (c) it is presupposed in chap. 12:9 ff.

b. Nowack, who holds the theory of the composite authorship of Zech. 9-14, considers; (a) 9:1-11:3 to be the work of one author, after c. 323 B.C.; (b) 11:4-17 + 13:7-9 = another independent division, post-exilic; (c) 12:1-13:6 = another independent section, late post-exilic; and (d) chap. 14, also separate, later post-exilic. Cf. HDB, iv. 968 f. (Nowack).

Mitchell's view is somewhat similar, viz. "the introductory verses (9:1-10) are a distinct prophecy written soon after the battle of Issus (333 B.C.). This was made the text for a more extended utterance (9:11-11:3) which dates from the reign of Ptolemy III (247-222 B.C.). A third writer, soon after the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.), supplemented this combined work by a pessimistic picture (11:4-17 with 13:7-9) of the situation as he saw it. About the same time a fourth with apocalyptic tendencies undertook to present the whole subject in a more optimistic light, the result being 12:1-13:6 and 14." Cf. his Zech. 258 f.

c. Some scholars think that Zech. 10:1-2 is practically an independent part, having no logical connection with the preceding chapter or the following section. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

d. It is to be noticed in Pss. 84-89 that the divine name Jehovah prevails over that of God (= Hebr. "Elohim"). Cf. pp. 226 f. (d).

e. By many scholars Ps. 84 is classified with the "Pilgrim psalms," viz. Pss. 120-134.

f. The doxology Ps. 89:52 forms the conclusion of book iii of the Psalter, and is not a part of the psalm. It was added probably by the compiler of the appended collection, Pss. 84-89.

<sup>1</sup> For the remainder of the literary productions of the period 332-c. 250 (200) B.C. see pp. 306-308, 310-311.

*g.* The theory of interpretation of the Song of Solomon followed in the analysis (p. 302) is that the book is a collection of songs, loosely connected, which were used at marriage festivals in some one or possibly more of the Hebrew villages. The bridegroom and bride figure as Solomon and the Shulammitte. This is in accordance with the modern custom in Syria of the bridegroom and bride playing the part of king and queen, and receiving the homage of their neighbors for seven days after marriage; hence the name the "king's week." Scholars who accept this standpoint of interpretation differ somewhat in their division of the songs. The outline given above is adopted practically from McFadyen, *Introd.* 287. This view of the book is advocated especially by Budde, but is finding an increasing number of adherents among modern scholars. Cf. Cornill, McFadyen, Martin (*Cen. B.*), Gray, Moore, Cheyne (*EBi*, i. 688 ff.), Kent, Songs, etc.; etc.

Cf. the view that it is not wedded love which is celebrated in the poems but that of an ardent lover; Schmidt, *Poets*, 224 ff.; Gordon, *Poets*, etc., 317 f.

For the analysis of the book according to "the shepherd hypothesis" (*i.e.* a dramatic poem with three leading characters), which has found favor with a large number of modern scholars, see *Ap. B.*, pp. 330 ff.

*h.* The psalm in *Jonah* 2 is made up of selections from other psalms, etc., and may be a later insertion. See *Comms.* in loc.

*i.* The genealogical lists in *1 Chr.* 1-9 are based freely on sections in *Gen.-Kings* (= *JEDP*), but much has no parallel in the earlier books, *e.g.* 2:18-55; 3:17-24; 4:1-23 (mostly), 25-27, 34-43; 5 (as a whole); 6:4-15, 20-53, 61-65; 7-9 (mostly; cf. 9:1-17 with *Neh.* 11:3-24). This material peculiar to the section (*i.e.* *Ch.*) may have been derived to some extent from earlier sources (cf. 5:17; 9:1, *e.g.* 2:25-33, 42-45, 49; 4:1-20, etc.; 6:5-15; 7:14-19, 21b-24), and some of it may have been added later to the book (*e.g.* chap. 8 = a variant of 7:6-12, Kittel's view). Cf. further *Comms.* and *Intros.* in loc.

#### *v. Chronological notes.*

*a.* *Zech.* 9-14 are placed first among the literary products of the Greek period, on the supposition that these chapters reflect in measure the struggles of that time and the feelings resulting, and so serve to some extent as a background for the age.

*b.* While the references in *Zech.* 9:1 ff. might well be to some invasion in pre-exilic times (*e.g.* by Assyria), they are equally appropriate to the days of Alexander in 332 B.C., or the conditions in succeeding years connected with the wars between his generals (see p. 301, ii. *b.*). This view is strengthened by (*a*) reference in

vss. 13 ff. to the Greeks; (b) the apocalyptic character of the description; and (c) the exultation over the slaughter of the foe (vs. 15), which would be in keeping with the political weakness in Judea subsequent to Alexander. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

c. The section 10:3 ff. harmonizes with the Greek age: *e.g.* the mention of the Jewish exiles in Assyria (= Syria) and Egypt (vss. 10 f.) answers well the condition following the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I in 320 B.C. (p. 301), when many Jews went to Egypt and others were scattered in Syria, and at a time before they were granted the rights of citizenship in those countries.

d. The allusions in 11:1-3 are claimed to harmonize with some of the invasions of Syria by the Ptolemies. In vss. 4 ff. while the language points to a late date, there are no definite historical references. Possibly the description is a symbolical representation of what had already taken place, not a prediction. Cf. *Introsds. and Comms. in loc.*

e. The occasion of 12:1 ff. is apparently different from that of the previous chaps. It is a gathering of nations against Jerusalem,—Judah being confederate with these hostile powers. Undoubtedly this refers to some temporary occasion of hostility on the part of the country against the city. The exact date seems impossible to determine. This spirit may have been an outgrowth of jealousy in post-exilic days due to the prominence of the city as containing the Temple. The allusions in 13:1 ff. are obscure.

f. The evidence in chap. 14 favors a late date: *e.g.* (a) the apocalyptic character of the description (cf. Ezek. 38 f.); (b) the emphasis on ceremonial details (vss. 16 ff.); and (c) the language. Note also in vs. 5 the expression "*Uzziah king of Judah*," which "rather implies that the dynasty is past." Cf. *Comms. and Introsds. in loc.*

g. It is the view now commonly held by scholars that the work of the Chronicler bears an important relation to the period following the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah (*i.e.* the late Persian and early Greek times, 432 ff. B.C.). For in the historical reviews (more especially in Chr.), *i.e.* in the Ch. portions, the spirit and standpoint of this later age are reflected in the judgments and interpretations recorded and in the ritualistic details given. This shows how firmly the ideas introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah had become established in the thought and life of the Jewish community. *These books thus serve as valuable indirect sources of information of this time*, by exhibiting the spirit of strict Judaism (from which its history is viewed), and the opposition to foreign influences which prevailed subsequent to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

h. No special mention is made of the captivity of the Reubenites, etc. (1 Chr. 5:25 f.), either in the deportation of a portion

of the Northern Kingdom in 734 B.C. (2 Ki. 15:29); or in the one which took place after the downfall of Samaria, 722–21 B.C. (2 Ki. 17:1–6).

### SECTION I (cont'd), 332–c. 250 (200) B.C.

i–ii (cont'd). *For Biblical records and historical survey of this period, see pp. 300 f., i–ii.*

iii (cont'd). *Literary productions, 332–c. 250 (200) B.C.*

7. *Different sections and verses in prophetic literature possibly added in exilic and post-exilic times; 586 to 300 or possibly 250 B.C.*

The following are the more important of such additions assigned by different scholars:—

#### a. *In Amos.*

(a) 9:8–15. Prediction of the restoration of Israel and Judah.<sup>1</sup>

#### b. *In Hosea.*

(a) Chap. 14 (?). Repentance and restoration of Israel.<sup>2</sup>

#### c. *In Isaiah.*

(a) 11:10–16. Restoration and harmony of Judah and Israel.

(b) 12:1–6. Song of thanksgiving of the restored nation.

(c) 13:1–14:23. Babylon's downfall and Israel's restoration. Cf. pp. 178 f., b.; 195, ii. 1. b.

(d) 19:16–25 (in whole or part). Egypt's changed religious attitude towards Jehovah.<sup>3</sup>

(e) 21:1–10. Vision of Babylon's destruction. Cf. pp. 177 f., a.; 195, ii. 1. a.

(f) 23:15–18. Prediction of Tyre's future restoration.<sup>4</sup>

(g) 24–27. Jehovah's judgment upon the world, etc. Cf. pp. 220 ff.; 269, ii. 1.

(h) 29:16–24 (or 18–24)? Prediction of the Messianic age.

<sup>1</sup> For other vss. which are considered by different authorities later additions to Amos (e.g. 1:11 f.; 2:4 f.; 4:13; 5:8 f., etc.); see p. 142, iii. c. d.

<sup>2</sup> For other vss. which some scholars regard as later additions to Hosea (e.g. 1:7; 1:10–2:1(?); 3:5; 4:15, etc.); see pp. 143, iii. e. f.; 145, iii. g.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. 19:1–15 is also taken as a later addition by some scholars. Cf. p. 97, n. <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 23:1–14 is assigned also to a late date by some authorities. Cf. p. 95, n. <sup>1</sup>.

(i) 30:18-26 (27-33)? Blessings of the faithful in the ideal future.

(j) Chap. 33. An appeal to Jehovah against an oppressor, etc.

(k) 34-35. Edom's punishment and Israel's glorious future. Cf. pp. 215 ff.; 264, iv. 4.

In addition to the above sections in Isaiah, more commonly regarded as exilic or post-exilic in origin, the following are among the parts also considered as such by a number of recent scholars (e.g. Cheyne, Gray, Kent, etc.).

(l) 2:2-4 (// Mic. 4:1-3). Prediction of Jerusalem's future prominence.

(m) 4:2-6. A description of purified Jerusalem.

(n) 9:2-7. The ideal (Messianic) king.

(o) 11:1-9. The ideal (Messianic) king and kingdom.

(p) 21:11-17. Distress for Edom, etc.

(q) Chap. 32 (in whole or part). Description of the ideal future, etc.

#### *d. In Micah.*

(a) 7:7-20. The nation's hope of restoration, etc.

The following parts of Micah are also considered late by many modern scholars.

(b) 4:1-3 (// Isa. 2:2-4). Cf. above under Isaiah, c. (l).

(c) Chaps. 4:4-5:15 (in whole or part). Distress and deliverance of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

#### *e. In Zephaniah.*

(a) 2:8-11. Jehovah's judgment on Moab and Ammon.

(b) 3:9-10. Jehovah to be worshipped by the nations.

(c) 3:14-20. Jehovah praised as the source of protection and restoration.

#### *f. In Jeremiah.*

(a) 3:16-18 (or 14-18). The restoration and ideal condition of Judah and Israel.

(b) 10:1-16. A warning against idolatry, etc. Cf. pp. 180 f. d.; 196, ii. 3.

(c) 17:19-27. An exhortation to keep the Sabbath, etc.

(d) 19:3-9, 11b-13? Judgment upon Jerusalem.

(e) Chap. 25 (in part). Nebuchadrezzar as Jehovah's instrument of judgment.

(f) 29:16-20. Prediction of judgment upon the king of Judah, etc.

<sup>1</sup> For the view that the most of Mic. 4 f. belongs to later times, cf. reference pp. 153 f., v. m.

- (g) 30-33 (in part). Punishment and restoration.  
 (h) 46-49 (in part). Messages concerning foreign nations.  
 (i) 50:1-51:58. A prediction of Babylon's destruction, etc.,  
 cf. pp. 179 f., c.; 195, ii. 1. c.<sup>1</sup>

g. *In Nahum.*

- (a) 1:2-2:2 (in the main). Jehovah's judgment upon his enemies, etc.

h. *In Habakkuk.*

- (a) 2:12-14. Judgment pronounced upon oppression.  
 (b) Chap. 3. Jehovah's manifestation of Himself for judgment.

8. *The completion and recognition of the Second (= Prophetic) Canon, 300-250 (or 200) B.C.*

This Prophetic Canon was made up of two parts:—

a. The Former Prophets = Joshua; Judges; 1-2 Samuel; and 1-2 Kings.

b. The Latter Prophets = Isaiah; Jeremiah; Ezekiel; and the Twelve Prophets (= Hosea; Joel; Amos; Obadiah; Jonah; Micah; Nahum; Habakkuk; Zephaniah; Haggai; Zechariah; and Malachi.)<sup>2</sup>

v. (cont'd). *Chronological notes.*

i. For discussion of the various prophetic verses and sections indicated above (pp. 306 ff.) cf. in addition to the notes in this volume in connection with the individual passages, the different Intros. and Comms.

For the explanation of these additions to the original prophecies, cf. pp. 87 f., e.

j. According to Kautzsch a not inconsiderable proportion of the additions to the prophetic writings may be as late as the 3rd or even 2nd century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

k. The time of the completion of the book of Isaiah in its present

<sup>1</sup> While all scholars to-day are practically agreed that there are many insertions of different kinds in Jeremiah, there is considerable variation in the views held as to the extent of this additional material. Besides the sections indicated above probably others should be included. See further Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts. on Jeremiah. See also p. 111, 8. c. Cf. Bennett, *Introd.* (5th ed.), 473, Ap. D.

It is to be noted that some scholars hold that the text of Jer. was subject to insertions until as late as the 2nd cen. B.C. Cf. Cornill, *Introd.* 313. Gray, *Introd.* 197.

<sup>2</sup> For the remainder of the literary productions of the period 332-c. 250 (200) B.C., see pp. 310 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *LOT*, 138, 199. *HDB*, extra vol. 708b (= list of additions, Kautzsch).

form must be subsequent to 340–332 B.C. (= the date of Isa. 24–27). Hence 330–250 B.C. (Bennett); 300–200 B.C. (Whitehouse); 250–220 B.C. (Cheyne); before 200 B.C. (Skinner); c. 180 B.C. (Gray), etc.<sup>1</sup>

l. In reference to the formation of the Prophetic Canon, the following facts may be noted: (a) the distinctively prophetic books were regarded with growing respect after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., since by that event the truth of their messages prior to that date were substantiated. Cf. appeals to prophecy in Zech. 1:4; 7:7, 12. (b) The historical writings Joshua-Kings, reviewing the past history of Israel from the standpoint of Deut., and in the prophetic spirit, would naturally share in this esteem. (c) As the Law at first overshadowed the other existing writings, the development of the canonical authority of the Prophets must have been subsequent to 400 B.C. (d) In Ecclus. (c. 200–180 B.C.), especially in chaps. 44–50, allusions are made to events as they occur (in order) in the Law, the Former Prophets, and also reference to Isaiah as a whole, Jer., Ezek. and the Twelve Prophets (cf. below, n. m), which implies that they were recognized as sacred books; i.e. in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. in addition to the Law, the books forming the second Canon (also other O. Test. books cited in Ecclus.) were recognized as sacred. (e) In Dan., c. 167–165 B.C., in 9:2 there is a reference to Jeremiah's prophecy (= 25:11 f.) under the designation of "the books" = the prophetic writings. And (f) in the Greek prologue of Ecclus., c. 130 B.C., the Prophets are referred to as the 2nd division of the Biblical writings.<sup>2</sup> In view of these facts the recognition of this Canon is generally dated no later than 200 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

m. As the 12 Minor Prophets are referred to in Ecclus. 49:10 by the single title "the Twelve Prophets," it is generally supposed that at one time they existed as a separate and independent collection. The editor who compiled them seems to have added the headings of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah and also the title to the last three groups: "The burden of the word of Jehovah" (Zech. 9:1; 12:1 and Mal. 1:1), irrespective of their authorship. These last three sections by some are regarded as appendices to an original

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bennett, Primer, etc., 78. Whitehouse, Isa. i. 71; EBi, ii. 2207 (Cheyne); Cheyne, Introd. Isa. xviii ff., xxix; Skinner, Isa. i. p. lxxiii. Gray, Isa. i. pp. lii, lvi f.

<sup>2</sup> Note also the conviction in the post-exilic community that the period of prophetic revelation was closed (contrast Mal. 4:5 f.; Zech. 13:3 with the promise of a succession of prophets in Deut. 18:18). This consciousness would tend to enhance the value of the prophetic writings of the past and lead to their preservation. Cf. W. R. Smith, O. T. Jew. Church<sup>2</sup>, 158 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. further on the Canon refs. to authorities, p. 325, n. 1.



collection; e.g. G. A. Smith, who dates the original book before 300 B.C., and the 2nd edition towards 250 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

### SECTION I (cont'd), 332-c. 250 (200) B.C.

i-ii (cont'd). *For Biblical records and historical survey* of this period, see pp. 300 f., i-ii.

iii (cont'd). *Literary productions*, 332-c. 250 (200) B.C.

9. *Compilation of the book of Proverbs*. c. 300-250 (?) B.C.

a. *Chaps. 1-9, "The Praise of Wisdom."* c. 300-250 (?) B.C.

Chap. 1: 1-6, 7. The prologue = the purpose of the book.

1: 8-33. Warning against association with thieves and murderers, etc.

2. Blessings resulting from the choice of Wisdom, etc.

3. Wisdom's counsel to serve God as a condition of prosperity, etc.

4. The writer cites his experience to enforce his teaching, etc.

5. Warning against impure conduct ("the strange woman").

6. Warning against becoming surety, etc.

7. Value of Wisdom as a protection from "the strange woman."

8. Wisdom's high character and office described, etc.

9. The invitation of Wisdom, etc.

b. *Chaps. 10: 1-22: 16. Solomonic collection.* 9th (?); 8th (?) or 7th (?) centuries B.C.; or 430-350 (?) B.C.

c. *Prov. 22: 17-24: 22 and 24: 23-34, Sayings of the wise*, c. 615 (?) B.C. or c. 350-300 (?) B.C.

Chap. 22: 17-21. An invitation to heed the words of the wise, etc.

22: 22-24: 22. "The words of the wise" which are commended.

24: 23-34. Additional "sayings of the wise."

d. *Chaps. 25-29. The Hezekiah collection.* c. 719 (?) ff. B.C. or 430-300 (?) B.C.

e. *Chaps. 30-31. Appendices to the book of Proverbs.* c. 250-200 (?) B.C.

Chap. 30. The words of Agur — one's inability to comprehend God, etc. The "numerical" proverbs (vss. 15-31).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, i. pp. 4 f. Ryle, Canon, etc., 115 f., 119 ff. Wildeboer, Canon, etc., 115 ff. Cornill, Introd. 376-381. Buhl, Canon, etc., 9 ff.

31:1-9. The words of Lemuel — the warnings of his mother, etc.

31:10-31. A description of the worthy woman.

10. *The book of Ecclesiastes.* c. 250-200 (?) B.C.

Chap. 1:1-11. The writer's conclusion as to the vanity of life, etc.

1:12-2:26. The disappointing nature of the pursuit after wisdom, etc.

3. The view that each event has its allotted time in the divine order, etc.

4. The evils and miseries of the world reviewed, etc.

5-6. Advice in reference to worship, prayer and vows, etc.

7. The value of reputation, of cultivating seriousness, etc.

8:1-9:10. The value of wisdom, especially in determining conduct, etc.

9:11-10:20. Conclusion drawn from observation that life's rewards are matters of chance not merit, etc.

11:1-12:8. Benevolence commended; excess of caution unwise, etc.

12:9-14. The epilogue — character of the writer and his object, etc.

iv. (cont'd). *Composition, etc., of the literary productions, 332 ff. B.C.*

j. While Prov. 1:1-6, 7 is a general introduction to the whole book, it may well have been written by the author of the remainder of chaps. 1-9. 1:7 is the motto or key-note of the book.

k. Prov. 6:1-19 and 9:7-12 are considered by a number of scholars later additions to chaps. 1-9; also 2:5-8 and 3:27-35 by some (*e.g.* Toy, Prov.). Cf. Comms.

l. That the collections 22:17 ff. and 24:23 ff. were not written by the author of chaps. 1-9 is shown, it is claimed, by the facts: (a) that the tone is different in the two sections, and (b) that there is an absence of characteristic features of phraseology common to the two. Cf. Comms. and Intros.

m. Notice in the section 22:22-24:22 that some themes are developed to a considerable length; *e.g.* the value of parental instruction (23:22-25), and a warning against drunkenness (23:29-35). In the section 24:23-34 is found the extended description of the sluggard, vss. 30-34.

n. Scholars differ in their views in reference to the number of verses which belong to Agur in chap. 30, whether 1-4, 1-9, 1-10 or the whole chapter. Vss. 5 f. are taken by many as an answer by the writer of vss. 1-4 (or by another subsequent poet) to the questioning spirit expressed in vss. 1-4. Cf. Comms. and Intros. in loc.

*o.* 31:10-31 is an alphabetical poem in the Hebrew.

*p.* The book of Eccles. is difficult to analyze, owing to abrupt transitions of thought and uncertainty of the meaning of the text in many places. The lack of order is explained: (*a*) by some on the theory that chaps. 3-12 were reconstructed (or compiled) from loose notes of the author after his death; or (*b*) by editorial omissions and insertions. According to some scholars the book represents a three-fold structure: 1st, material concerning the vanity of life, which occupies the greater part of the book. 2nd, inserted verses in harmony with accepted religious views (viz. 2:26*a*; 3:17; 7:26*b*; 8:12 *f.*; 11:9*b*; 12:1(?), 7, 9-14); 3rd, a section of proverbs of general character (= 9:17-10:20). For other theories of composition, cf. *Intros.* and *Comms.*, especially Barton, Eccles. 44-46. In favor of the unity of the book, see espec. Cornill, *Introd.* 454 *f.*; Genung, *Koheleth*.

*q.* According to some scholars a more strictly biographical narrative begins in chaps. 3 *ff.* — the allusions to Solomon ending, and in their place references to contemporary history being found.

*r.* According to Cheyne, 5:1-7:14 contain a collection of proverbial sayings in connection with the writer's record of personal experience. Cf. Job and Sol., etc., 214.

*s.* Almost all scholars consider that the epilogue (12:9-14) in whole or in part is a later addition. The following are some of the reasons given for this view: (*a*) the author's meditations end naturally with vs. 7 or vs. 8; and (*b*) the tone of the section, — its commendation of the writer (vss. 9 *f.*), is inconsistent with what would be expected of any one's statements in reference to himself. It can be more naturally accounted for as an addition by a later editor, to explain that the real writer was not a king but a wise man. By other scholars the addition is limited to vss. 13 *f.*, which, it is claimed, were inserted by an editor, to explain the true moral of the book and to offset any possible objections to its teaching as a whole. Further, the godliness recommended (cf. vss. 13 *f.* with vs. 1*a*) is different from the oft-repeated conclusion to enjoy moderately the good things of life (cf. 2:24; 3:12, 22, etc.). Cf. *contra*, Cornill, *Introd.* 454. See further *Comms.* and *Intros.*, in loc.

#### *v. (cont'd). Chronological notes.*

*n.* The following are some of the variant dates for the compilation of the book of Prov.: in the time after Ezra, *i.e.* after 432 B.C. (Duhm); c. 350 B.C. (Kautzsch); c. end of 3rd cen. B.C. (Gordon); 2nd cen. B.C. (H. P. Smith, Siegfried, etc.); etc.

*o.* The following are some of the variant post-exilic dates for Prov. 1-9 = 350 B.C. (Kautzsch); Persian or Greek period (Mc-

Fadyen); 320-200 (Moore); c. 250 B.C. (Nowack, Cornill, H. P. Smith, Toy, etc.); middle or end of 2nd cen. B.C. (Gordon).

*p.* For the relative age of Prov. 8 and Job 28, both descriptions of Wisdom, cf. Comms. and Intros. on these chaps.

*q.* In addition to the grounds for the post-exilic origin of the book of Proverbs as a whole (pp. 117 f.) the following data as bearing more particularly on the collections 10:1-22:16 and chaps. 25-29 may be noted: (a) monotheism is taken for granted. The theistic faith expressed is "firm, calm and unquestioning." Contrast the pre-exilic prophets, who had to plead the cause of Jehovah with the nation. (b) The religious conceptions of the prophets are accepted; *e.g.* sacrifices, cf. 15:8; 21:3, 27, etc., with Am. 5:18 ff.; Hos. 6:6, etc.; denunciation of oppression and commendation of consideration of the helpless; cf. 14:31; 17:5; 28:3, 6, 27, etc., with Am. 4:1 ff.; Hos. 5:10 f.; Mic. 2:8, etc. And (c) individual and domestic life rather than national is dealt with. The prophetic standpoint was national; *e.g.* Israel versus other nations, and a national conception of religion. In these sections of Prov. it is the upright and ungodly; the humble and proud, who are contrasted, and the conception of religion is individualistic.

*r.* Some of the variant post-exilic dates for 10:1-22:16 = Persian period perhaps (Moore); 4th cen. B.C. (Cornill?); 350-300 B.C. (Toy; cf. Nowack = towards end of Persian or beginning of Greek period); c. 300 B.C. (H. P. Smith, Gordon), etc.

*s.* Among those who hold that 10:1-22:16 belongs to post-exilic times, some believe that it had a pre-exilic basis, which was expanded and revised in post-exilic times as seen for instance in the absence of allusion to idolatry and the way in which monogamy is taken for granted. As to whether there are remnants of a Solomonic collection in this section Kautzsch maintains that "we cannot even form an opinion." Others admit at least the presence of pre-exilic sayings in these collections (Nowack, McFadyen, Martin, etc.). Toy, who assigns the whole of Prov. in its present form to post-exilic times (not earlier than the second half of the Persian period), admits that "no little of the general thought, theistic and ethical, and some of the particular illustrations, may be older than the 4th century B.C."<sup>1</sup>

It may be added that between the view of a pre-exilic collection revised in post-exilic times, and that of a post-exilic collection based on and incorporating pre-exilic elements, there may not necessarily be much difference.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HDB, extra vol. 728b (Kautzsch); iv. 142 (Nowack). McFadyen, Introd. 200. EBi, iii. 3916, n. 4 (Toy). Martin, Prov, etc., 10 f.

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## SECTION II, c. 250-165 (140) B.C.

i. *The period* c. 250-165 (140) B.C. No Biblical historical records, cf. below, n. ii. a.

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a. It is in place here to give an historical outline of that portion of the Greek period which leads up to the Maccabean struggle, in continuation of note ii. b, pp. 300 ff.

During the last quarter of the third century B.C. the power of the Ptolemies declined, and the Seleucidæ under Antiochus III, the Great (224-187 B.C.), gained the ascendancy. By 218 B.C. he had made himself master of Syria and Palestine, but in the following year was defeated by the Egyptians at Raphia on the border of Egypt (cf. Dan. 11:10-12). Antiochus desisted from further attacks in that direction till the death of Ptolemy Philopator in 205 or 204 B.C. (who was succeeded by his son five years of age), when he again by 202 B.C. gained possession of Palestine. An opposing Egyptian army was defeated in 198 B.C. The Jews suffered greatly in the conflict between the two forces (cf. Jos. Ant. xii. 3, §§ 3 f.; Dan. 11:13-16). In return for assistance received from the Jews, according to Josephus, Antiochus granted them certain favors, viz. exemption from taxes for a time and freedom in their worship; also a contribution to the Temple and worship, etc. (cf. Jos., *Ibid.*). Egyptian dominion over Palestine was now permanently overthrown. In 193 B.C. he gave the taxes of Palestine and Coelo-Syria as a dowry to his daughter Cleopatra, who was married to Ptolemy V, Epiphanes (cf. Dan. 11:17). In 190 B.C. he was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia in his effort to check their advance in Asia Minor. Soon afterwards (187 B.C.) he met his death while attempting to plunder the temple of Bel at Elymais (cf. Dan. 11:18 f.).

During the reign of his son and successor, Seleucus IV, Philopator (188 or 187-176 or 175 B.C.), an attempt was made to plunder the Temple at Jerusalem, by the instigation of a treacherous Jew, Heliodorus, who was sent on this mission but did not accomplish his purpose, owing to the intense feeling aroused among the Jews (cf. 2 Macc. 3; Dan. 11:20).

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*beginning of his reign* the High Priest, Onias III(?) was deposed by the Hellenistic party at Jerusalem, and his brother Jason was appointed in his place, who promised greater revenues (2 Macc. 4:3-8). Through his influence Greek games were introduced at Jerusalem, and a great enthusiasm for everything of Greek origin took possession of the people (cf. Jos. Ant. xii, 5, § 1: 1 Macc. 1:10-15; 2 Macc. 4:9 ff.). In 171 B.C. Jason was supplanted by Menelaus, and in connection with the conflicts between the rival parties the aged Onias III was slain (2 Macc. 4:23 ff., 34; Dan. 11:21 f.). Out of this bloodshed and the oppression of Menelaus grew a hatred for Antiochus and Menelaus on the part of the Jews, and a corresponding lessening of their passion for Hellenism. In 170 (or 169) B.C. Antiochus invaded Egypt (cf. 1 Macc. 1:17; Dan. 11:25 ff.). While he was there, Jason with a small force gained possession of Jerusalem for a time and put to death many of the people. Antiochus, on his return from Egypt, made this a pretext for falling upon the city. Many of the people were slain; many were carried off as slaves and the Temple was plundered (cf. 1 Macc. 1:20-28; 2 Macc. 5:11 ff. (?); Jos. Ant. xii, 5, § 3; c. Ap. ii, 7; Dan. 11:28).<sup>1</sup> In 169 (or 168) B.C. Antiochus again invaded Egypt (2 Macc. 5:1; Dan. 11:29 f.) but was checked by the Romans. On his return he wreaked his disappointment and rage upon Jerusalem, encouraged by renegade Jews. An army was sent to Jerusalem to put an end to Jewish worship, which massacred many of the people (1 Macc. 1:29, 30; 2 Macc. 5:24-26). In carrying out the king's purpose, the walls of Jerusalem were razed; the Temple was dismantled and desecrated; unclean animals were offered as sacrifices; the altar of Olympian Zeus was set up by the side of the great altar in the Temple, 168 B.C.; the observance of the Sabbath and all Jewish rites and feasts were forbidden, and the Jews themselves were compelled to offer swine's flesh or some other unclean beast in public. Copies of the Law were also destroyed (cf. 1 Macc. 1:31 ff., cf. 2:15 ff.; 2 Macc. 6:1-5; Jos. Ant. xii, 5, § 4; Dan. 11:31). In the persecution which followed many Jews were betrayed by their countrymen; some submitted to the king's will, but others met the death of

<sup>1</sup> There is some uncertainty in reference to the number of campaigns undertaken by Antiochus against Egypt, whether two or three. Charles adopts the view that there were two, viz. in 170-169 (= two stages in the same campaign) and in 168 B.C. "Driver favors this view but points out that since the persecuting edict belongs to the year 168 B.C., Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem must have taken place in 170 B.C. owing to 1 Macc. 1:20, 29, 54." Hence Driver considers that there were practically three expeditions to Egypt, viz. in 170, 169 and 168 B.C. See discussion, Driver, Dan. 178 ff. LOT, 491 f. Charles, Dan. xl f., 128 f., etc.

martyrs (1 Macc. 1:60 f.; 2 Macc. 5:24 ff.; 6:10 ff.; Dan. 11:32 ff.).

At length revolt broke out at Modein, a village on the west edge of the hills of Palestine, which Syrian officials visited to enforce the royal commission. Mattathias, an aged priest, indignant at seeing an apostate Jew advancing to offer sacrifice on the heathen altar, slew him and the Syrian officer present, and with his five sons fled to the mountains (1 Macc. 2:1 ff.; Jos. Ant. xii, 6, § 2). Around him gathered the faithful who were known as the Chasids or Hasideans (= the pious). At first their efforts were confined to striking terror among the apostates by guerilla methods (cf. 1 Macc. 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc. 14:6), but at length they grew strong enough to take more aggressive steps against their adversaries (1 Macc. 2:44-48; 2 Macc. 8:1-7).

Mattathias died in 167 B.C. but was succeeded in military command by his son Judas, called Maccabæus (= the "Hammerer," or "Extinguisher"), who displayed military skill of an unusual order. He early signalized his leadership by a two-fold victory over the Syrian forces with his small army, — over Apollonius who lost his life (1 Macc. 3:3-12; cf. 2 Macc. 5:24), and Seron (1 Macc. 3:13-24; Jos. Ant. xii. 7, § 1). Another greater army was despatched against him under three experienced generals, Ptolemy, Nicanor and Gorgias, which met with the same fate at Emmaus, 166 B.C. (cf. 1 Macc. 3:27-4:25; 2 Macc. 8:8-29). Another victory over Lysias, the vicegerent of the kingdom (during the absence of Antiochus in the East), at Beth-zur the ensuing year, 165 B.C. (cf. 1 Macc. 4:28-35; 2 Macc. 11:1-12; Jos. Ant. xii. 7, §§ 2 ff.), was succeeded by the purification and rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. 4:42 ff.) and the building of a new altar on the 25th of Chisleu (= Nov.-Dec.), 165 B.C., three years after it had been defiled by Antiochus. A joyful feast of celebration of eight days' duration followed, which it was decreed should henceforth be yearly commemorated (1 Macc. 4:47-59; 2 Macc. 10:1-8; Jos. Ant. xii. 7, §§ 6 f.). *In the year 164 B.C.*, Judas and his brother Simon gained victories for the Jews in Idumea, Gilead, Galilee and Philistia (1 Macc. 5; Jos. Ant. xii. 8). After the death of Antiochus in the East in this same year, Lysias again took the field against the Jews and gained some successes (1 Macc. 6:1 ff., 28 ff.; Jos. Ant. xii. 9, §§ 1 ff.). As he had, however, designs upon the throne of Syria, he made peace with the Jews, granting them absolute religious freedom (1 Macc. 6:55-61; Jos. Ant. xii. 9, §§ 6 f.). The war henceforth was for political independence. Religious liberty had been secured.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the subsequent struggles and fortunes of the Maccabees are not with certainty reflected in any of the literature of the Old Testament, they

iii. *Literary productions*, c. 250–165 (or 140) B.C.1. *The book of Esther*, c. 250–150 B.C.2. *Narrative and apocalyptic messages of the book of Daniel*, 167–165 B.C.

Chap. 1. Certain Hebrew captive youths selected and trained by Nebuchadnezzar, etc.

2. Nebuchadnezzar's disquieting dream; its interpretation by Daniel.

3. Nebuchadnezzar's great image and the fiery furnace.

4. The dream of the tree and Daniel's interpretation.

5. Belshazzar's feast; the capture of Babylon.

6. Plot against Daniel; the den of lions.

7. Vision of the four beasts and the interpretation.

8. Vision of the ram and he-goat and the interpretation.

9. Daniel's prayer of confession.

10–11. The angel interpreter and the historical review, etc.

12. The period of trouble preceding the Messianic age.

3. *Psalms possibly Maccabean*.a. Pss. 74 and 79; also 44 and possibly 83 are those which are more commonly regarded as having their origin during this struggle, or at least as taking their present form at that time, *i.e.* revisions of earlier psalms.<sup>1</sup>b. The following are assigned to this period by Briggs: Pss. 33; 102 (2nd part); 109 (2nd part); 118; 129; 139 (last part); 147; 149.<sup>2</sup>c. Cheyne assigns the following to different parts of the Maccabean period beginning with 168 B.C.: Pss. 20–21; 33; 44; 60; 61; 63; 74; 79; 83; 101; 108; 115–118; 135–138; 145–147?; 148–150.<sup>3 4</sup>

are not outlined in this volume. Cf. for fuller details of the Maccabean struggle, Kent, *Jew. People*, 294 ff., 323 ff., 334 ff. Riggs, *Jew. People*, 3 ff., 14 ff., 29 ff. H. P. Smith, *O. T. Hist.* 441 ff. HDB, i. 105 f. (Moss); ii. 515 f. (Barnes); iv. 433a (Macpherson), etc. EBi, i. 186 f. (anonymous); ii. 2259 ff. (Guthe); cf. iii. 2850 ff. (Torrey); iv. 4347 ff. (Woodhouse), etc. *Intros. to Comms. on Dan.* O. and N. Test. Student, Sept. 1892, pp. 94 ff. (= article by the present writer on *Maccabean Psalms*), etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LOT, 387 f. Bennett, *Introd.* 145 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 251, etc. Also O. and N. Test. Student, Sept.-Dec. 1892 = articles on *Macc. Psalms* (by the present writer).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Briggs, *Psal.* i. pp. xc ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Origin Psal.* 455 ff. See further for references against the possibility of many Maccabean psalms, p. 234, n. 2, of this vol.

Note the view of W. R. Smith that Pss. 74, 79 and 44; and possibly 83 = c. 350 B.C.; cf. also the same date for Pss. 74, 79 and 89 by Cheyne in his *Founders*, etc., 223. Cf. p. 270, ii. 4. b. of this vol.

<sup>4</sup> For the remainder of the literary productions of the period c. 250–165 (140) B.C., cf. p. 322.

iv. *Composition of the literary productions, c. 250 ff. B.C.*

a. For the possibility of Esth. 9:20-10:3 belonging to a different writer from the rest of the book, cf. Paton, Esth. 57 f.

b. For the view that the book of Daniel is composite, *e.g.* chaps. 1-6 = 245-225 B.C., and chaps. 7-12 = c. 166 B.C. cf. Kent.<sup>1</sup>

c. The section Dan. 2:4b-7:28 is in Aramaic. For different solutions of this literary problem, cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

d. According to some scholars Dan. 9:4-19 is a later addition to the book. Cf. EBi, i. 1004 (Kamphausen); Charles, Dan. in loc.

v. *Chronological notes, etc.*

a. Neither in Kings nor in Jeremiah is there any reference to a siege and capture of Jerusalem in the 3rd year of Jehoiakim (Dan. 1:1), *i.e.* c. 605 B.C. The chronological statement here may be based on the reference in the late books of Chr. (300-250 B.C.) to the vessels of the Temple being taken to Babylon in his reign (2 Chr. 36:6 f.). Cf. further Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

b. *The traditional interpretation* of the 4 kingdoms of chap. 2:31 ff. is: (a) Chaldean; (b) Medo-Persian (Cyrus); (c) Greek (Alexander = the belly, vss. 32, 39b); followed by the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ at Antioch and the Ptolemies at Egypt (= the thighs, vs. 32); and (d) the Roman, followed by the East and West divisions with Constantinople and Rome as centers (= clay and iron, vss. 33, 40 ff.). *The modern theory* is: (a) Chaldean; (b) Median; (c) Persian, and (d) Greek, followed by the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies, who often were externally allied but inwardly disunited. (Cf. the fact that the book distinguishes between the Median and Persian kingdoms, *e.g.* 6:8; 8:3. This conception implied, of the Medes being the conquerors of the Babylonians, is probably based on such predictions as in Isa. 13:17; 21:2.) Cf. Introsds. and Comms. in loc.

c. The vision of chap. 7 is generally regarded as parallel to the dream of chap. 2, with corresponding difference of interpretation. According to *the old view* the 10 horns (vss. 7, 20 f., 24) represent the 10 European kingdoms following the Roman empire. The little horn (vss. 8 ff., 20 f., 24 ff.) = some anti-Christian power destined to arise in the future. According to the *view of modern interpreters*, the 10 horns represent 10 successors of Alexander, particularly in the line of the Seleucidæ; the little horn being Antiochus Epiphanes; [cf. parallels in the description 7:20 f., 25 and 8:9-13, 23-25, — the latter being generally admitted to refer to this king (cf. below, n. d)]. The duration of persecution mentioned, vs. 25

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kent, Sermons, etc., 33 ff. For other views, cf. Cornill, Introd. 390 f. Charles, Dan. xxi ff. Cf. in favor of the unity of Daniel, Gray, Introd. 236 f.

(3 and a half years), agrees well with the length of time the Jews suffered under this king. Cf. *Introdus. and Comms. in loc.*

*d.* The kingdoms symbolized by the animals are clearly given in chap. 8. The "notable horn" (vss. 5 ff., 21) represents the first king of the Grecian empire, Alexander the Great. The four horns (vss. 8, 22) = the four kingdoms into which his empire was divided after his death, viz. those of Seleucus at Antioch, Ptolemy of Egypt, Lysimachus in Thrace, and Cassander in Macedonia. The "little horn," from the descriptions (vss. 9-14, 23-25), is generally admitted to be Antiochus Epiphanes. Cf. further *Introdus. and Comms. in loc.*

*e.* The expression, literally "2300 evenings-mornings" (8:14) is a peculiar one. Possibly it denotes half days (= 1150 days), i.e. about 3 years and 2 months. Cf. the tribulation of 3 and a half years (7:25; cf. 12:7); also 1290 days (12:11) and 1335 days (12:12). The period 3 to 3 and a half years corresponds with the length of time the Sanctuary was in possession of the enemy. Cf. *Introdus. and Comms. in loc.* Note also the conclusion of some scholars from these vss. that the book of Dan. was written before the dedication of the new altar, Dec. 165 B.C. Cf. Charles, Dan. 89.

*f.* The chronology of the section 9:24-27 is exceedingly difficult to determine. According to Driver "no entirely satisfactory interpretation appears yet to have been found." The traditional view interprets it as a prediction of the death of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Many modern scholars refer vs. 26*a* to the death of Onias III; vss. 26*b*-27 to the persecution of Antiochus: and vs. 24 to the Messianic age which is to succeed his persecution. Cf. further *Introdus. and Comms. in loc.*

*g.* The following is the outline of historical events referred to in Dan. 11: the kings of Persia (vs. 2); Alexander the Great (vs. 3); the division of his kingdom into four parts after his death (vs. 4); Ptolemy Soter, whose captain, Seleucus Nicator, gained the dominion of Syria and Babylon, 306 B.C. (vs. 5); the marriage alliance between Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus of Egypt, and Antiochus Theos of Syria, c. 249 B.C. The failure of this plan to cement union between the two kingdoms, — Berenice losing her life in the conflict (vs. 6). The invasion of Syria and Babylon by Ptolemy III, Euergetes of Egypt (247-222 B.C.) to avenge the death of his sister, 246 ff. B.C., in which great spoil was secured. Counter aggression by Seleucus II, Callinicus of Syria, which ended in failure, 240 B.C. (vss. 7-9). Seleucus III, Ceraunus (227-224 or 226-223 B.C.) was succeeded by his brother Antiochus the Great (224-187 or 223-187 B.C.), who attempted to invade Egypt, but was defeated at Raphia by Ptolemy Philopator, 217 B.C. (vss. 10-12). An expedition against Egypt by Antiochus the

Great on the death of Ptolemy Philopator, 205 B.C. [*vss. 13-16*, — his capture of Sidon (?) 198 B.C. (*vs. 15*); and his operations in Judæa (*vs. 16*)]. Peace of Antiochus with Ptolemy Epiphanes to whom he gave his daughter, Cleopatra (*vs. 17*). His operations in Asia Minor, 196 ff. B.C., checked by his defeat by the Romans under Lucius Cornelius Scipio at Magnesia, 190 B.C. (*vs. 18*). His death while attempting to plunder the temple of Bel at Elymais, 187 B.C. (*vs. 19*). The mission of Heliodorus in the reign of Seleucus IV, Philopator of Syria (187-175 B.C.) to pillage the Sanctuary at Jerusalem; the king's mysterious death (*vs. 20*). Events connected with the succession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) and operations in Syria (*vss. 21-24*). (Note, that often since the time of Jerome *vss. 22-24* have been referred to the first Egyptian campaign of Antiochus, but this is not so probable.) His first and second (?) campaigns against Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, 170 or 169 B.C. [= *vss. 25-28*, viz. the defeat of Ptolemy through the treachery of his adherents (*vss. 25 f.*); the union between the two kings but on an insecure basis (*vs. 27*); the massacre of Jews at Jerusalem, Antiochus regarding the conflict between the rival parties in that city as an act of rebellion (*vs. 28*); cf. 1 Macc. 1:20-24; 2 Macc. 5:11-21]. The second (or third?) Egyptian campaign, 168 B.C., in which his designs were thwarted by the Romans (*vss. 29-30a*). The measures adopted by Antiochus to suppress the Jewish religion [*vss. 30b-39* = the encouragement given to renegade Jews (*vs. 30b*); the setting up of the altar to Olympian Zeus (Jupiter) in the Temple, 168 B.C., and the abolition of the ancient sacrifices (*vs. 31*); conflicts between the apostates and patriotic Jews (*vss. 32 f.*); the rising of the Maccabees, their first successes and reverses (*vss. 34 f.*); the proud and impious character of Antiochus described, (*vss. 36-39*)]. A description of another expedition into Egypt, attended with success. On account of disturbances in Palestine, Antiochus returns against it, where he meets his end (*vss. 40-45*). Note, that different interpretations are given of *vss. 40 ff.*; either (*a*) that they refer to another invasion of Egypt subsequent to 168 B.C.; or (*b*) that they give a forecast of the end of Antiochus, fulfilled in essence but not literally, after the manner of Isaiah's prediction in Isa. 10:28 ff. The latter view seems the more probable one. Cf. further *Introsds.* and *Comms.* in loc.

*h.* It seems impossible to determine the precise events to which the numbers in 12:11 f. refer, owing probably to the lack of full details of those years of struggle. Possibly it may be an approximate way of denoting the period of persecution in general, viz. about 3 and a half years. By some, however, these *vss.* are considered glosses. Cf. *Introsds.* and *Comms.* in loc.

## SECTION II (cont'd), c. 250-165 (140) B.C.

i-ii (cont'd). *For Biblical records and historical survey of this period, see pp. 315 ff., i-ii.*

iii. (cont'd). *Literary productions, c. 250 ff. B.C.*

4. *Compilation of the Psalter, c. 250-140 (?) B.C.*

a. *Introductory psalms, viz. 1-2.*

b. *Book i, Psalms 3-41, "Davidic." — c. 450 (?) or — c. 430 (?) B.C. Cf. pp. 230 f.*

c. *Books ii-iii in part, Psalms 42-83. c. 430-330 (?) B.C. Cf. p. 231.*

d. *An Appendix to Pss. 42-83, viz. Pss. 84-89, c. 300 (?) B.C. Cf. p. 232.*

e. *Books iv-v, Pss. 90-150. c. 250-140 (?) B.C. Cf. pp. 232 ff.*

5. *The following literary productions have also been assigned to the Greek (or Maccabean) period by some scholars.*

a. *Lam. 3 = pre-Macc. portion of the Greek age, according to Cheyne.<sup>1</sup>*

b. *Isa. 19: 17-25, possibly c. 180 B.C., according to Gray.<sup>2</sup>*

c. *Zech. 9-14, c. 160 B.C., according to Kent.<sup>3</sup>*

d. *Isa. 24-27 = Maccabean period according to Kent; cf. Gray (possibly as late).<sup>4</sup>*

6. *The closing and recognition of the THIRD CANON (= the Writings or Hagiographa), c. 150 (?) B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era (?).*

The following is the order and grouping of this Third Canon:—

a. *The Poetical books = the Psalter; Proverbs and Job.*

b. *The Five Rolls ("Megilloth") = Song of Solomon (Canticles); Ruth; Lamentations; Ecclesiastes and Esther.*

c. *The remainder of the books = Daniel; Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.*

iv. (cont'd). *Composition, etc., of the literary productions. c. 250 ff. B.C.*

e. *The view adopted above that Pss. 1 and 2, which are anonymous both in the Hebrew and Septuagint texts, were prefixed to the Psalter as a fitting introduction by the final compiler is one which is held to-day by many representative scholars.*

<sup>1</sup> See Cheyne's classification of the poems of Lam. and refs., p. 270, n. <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gray, Isa. i. pp. lvi, 332 ff. For other dates suggested for this section of Isa. cf. pp. 302, iii. 2; 96 f., 4. d.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kent, Sermons, etc., 36, 453. For its chron. setting in this vol. cf. pp. 275 ff.; 302, iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kent, Ibid., 497 ff.; also Gray, Isa. i. pp. lvi, 397 ff. For its chron. setting in this vol. cf. pp. 220 ff.; 269, ii. 1.

f. It is to be noted that in Pss. 90–150 the divine name Jehovah prevails over that of God (= Hebr. Elohim); cf. pp. 225 f., (d).

g. Pss. 93, 95–100 are termed "Theocratic psalms" by some writers; e.g. Kirkpatrick, Psal. 563, 571 f.

h. Ps. 108 is a compilation. Vss. 1–5 // to Ps. 57:7–11; and vss. 6–13 // to Ps. 60:5–12.

i. The following psalms are alphabetical (acrostic) in books iv–v = 111; 112; 119 (8 verses to each letter of the Hebr. alphabet) and 145.

j. Pss. 113–118 form the "Hallel" or Hymn of Praise, which according to liturgical usage is sung at the three great Jewish festivals.

k. Pss. 120–134, the "Songs of Ascents," not improbably were songs used by the pilgrims on their way to attend the feasts at Jerusalem. Cf. for discussion of the term "Degrees" or "Ascents" Intros. and Comms. in loc.

l. Ps. 136 is known as "the Great Hallel"; cf. Pss. 113–118 = "the Hallel," see above, n. j.

v. (cont'd). *Chronological notes.*

i. According to the chronological classification followed in this volume, most of the books and collections found in the third great division of the Jewish Canon given above, were in existence at the time the second (Prophetic) Canon was closed; i.e. c. 250 (200) B.C. (cf. p. 308, iii. 8), though they were not included in that second division of the Old Testament writings. Of these the following are cited in Ecclus., chaps. 44–50, c. 180 B.C.: = Chr.; (Ezra)-Neh.; possibly Lam. (cf. 49:6) and psalms (but not necessarily the completed Psalter). Cf. also the fact that Prov. (in part at least) is implied, it is claimed (cf. Ecclus. 24:9 with Prov. 8:22; 1:14 with Prov. 1:7; 9:10, etc.). Some of these books, thus referred to as among the sacred writings, may, as Ryle thinks, perhaps have formed an appendix to the Law and the Prophets at the end of the 3rd century B.C. (cf. Ryle, Canon, etc. 131).

Among the reasons leading to the formation of this third division of the Canon, as this same writer suggests (pp. 134 ff.), the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes may reasonably have played an important part. In carrying out the command of this king to destroy all copies of the Law (168 B.C.), other cherished writings of the Jews doubtless met with the same fate. This would likely lead, after the persecution ended, to a greater valuation being placed on the books not included in the Law and the Prophets, and to an attempt to form a *third* division of the sacred books. The date for the beginning of this movement, suggested by Ryle (Ibid., p. 137) = not later than the revival under Jonathan and Simon, 161–135 B.C.



It seems impossible to determine definitely the date of its close. The following are the more important facts bearing on this point: (a) in the Greek prologue of *Ecclus.*, c. 130 B.C., reference is made to "the Law and the Prophets *and the other books.*" While this seems to recognize a third collection, it does not necessarily determine that it was completed at that time. (b) The recognition of the three-fold division of the Canon in the N. Test. (cf. Lk. 24 : 44, where "psalms" = the third division).<sup>1</sup> Note also that Chr. is apparently referred to as the last book of the Jewish Canon (cf. Matt. 23 : 35; Lk. 11 : 51 = Gen. to Chr., *i.e.* "Abel" = Gen. 4 : 8, and "Zachariah" = 2 Chr. 24 : 20-22). It is to be further noted that of the Third Canon, Esther, Canticles, Eccles. and Ezra-Neh. are not cited in the N. Test.; nor are the first three in Philo. (c) The testimony of Josephus, c. 100 A.D. (cf. c. Ap. i. 8), that the sacred books of the Jews numbered twenty-two. While there is difference of view in reference to the books he means, the significant fact is that this same number is also given in later lists by those who accepted the complete Canon. And (d) at the councils of Jamnia, c. 90 A.D. and 118 A.D., the canonicity of Canticles and Eccles., which had been in dispute, was determined. This, however, does not of necessity mean that these books had not previously been included in the Third division of the Canon; but rather that now all questions as to their canonical authority were settled.

It is generally agreed then that c. 100 A.D. at the latest the O. Test. Canon was formally closed by the Jewish authorities. Two causes especially led to this result. 1st, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans 70 A.D., which increased the Jewish devotion to the Scriptures; and 2nd, the influence of the LXX among the Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion (cf. also the fact that this was the version of the O. Test. which the Christians accepted). As it contained other writings besides those of the Hebrew Bible, it became necessary for the Jews to define the limits of their Canon to prevent confusion.

Of the different books composing this division, the first to be recognized was probably the Psalter; the next most likely were the Wisdom books, Proverbs and Job. Of the others, probably Ruth and Lamentations received early recognition, and Daniel (as the forerunner of such apocalyptic books as Enoch and the Apocalypse of Ezra); possibly also Ezra-Nehemiah. The other books received more tardy recognition, especially Ecclesiastes, Esther and the Song of Solomon (Canticles). As has already been noticed, Ecclesiastes and Canticles were only finally accepted c. 100 A.D. Esther was the subject of questioning even later. The fact that Chronicles, which originally with Ezra-Nehemiah formed one book, is

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, contra, W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*<sup>2</sup>, 177 f.

separated from them and placed in order after them, seems to show that it did not receive canonical authority till subsequent to the time when Ezra-Nehemiah had been accepted.

Ryle thinks that all the books must have been included before the 1st century B.C., as that was a time of civil wars and controversies between different Jewish schools. His date is 160-105 (= death of John Hyrcanus I) B.C. Cf. against his arguments Budde. Cf. similar views, c. 100 B.C. = Bruce; McFadyen, etc. "Pretty generally accepted before the Christian era" = Buhl; Bennett; G. A. Smith, etc.

Others hold a less conservative view, viz. that there is no evidence definite enough to show that it was closed till after 70 A.D., *i.e.* practically not till c. 100 A.D. = W. R. Smith; Budde, Briggs, Sanday, Cornill (= 2nd cen. A.D.); Wildeboer, Moore, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the Third division of the Canon, LOT, i ff. Bennett, *Introd.* 1 ff., 12 f. Bennett, *Primer*, etc., 121 ff. Gray, *Introd.* 2 f. Moore, LOT, 7 ff. Cornill, *Introd.* 477 ff. McFadyen, *Introd.* 2. W. R. Smith, *O. T. Jew. Church*,<sup>2</sup> 149 ff., espec. 163 ff., 174, 178 ff. Ryle, *Canon*, etc., 129 ff., 153 ff., 178 ff. Wildeboer, *Canon*, etc., 136 ff. Buhl, *Canon*, etc., 13 ff. HDB, iii. 597b f. (Curtis); 612 ff., 606 ff. (Woods). EBi, i. 666 ff. (Budde). Riggs, *Jew. People*, 23, 294 ff. Sanday, *Inspir.* 91 ff., 96. G. A. Smith, *Modern Crit.*, etc., 7 ff. Robertson, *Poet. and Relig.*, etc., 67 ff. Briggs, *Holy Scripts*. 124 ff., cf. 118 ff. Cheyne, *Job and Sol.* 279 ff. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 315 ff.



## APPENDIX A

### THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE BIBLICAL MATERIAL OF EZRA-NEHEMIAH ON THE THEORY OF THE PRIORITY OF NEHEMIAH'S MISSION

ACCORDING to the Biblical order of Ezra-Nehemiah the mission of Ezra preceded that of Nehemiah. While this chronological arrangement has been followed in this volume, it is to be noted that many scholars to-day believe that the Chronicler has antedated the mission of Ezra, which should follow not precede that of Nehemiah. There are weighty reasons favoring this view, the principal of which are as follows: (a) absence of any reference to Ezra's expedition or his reforms (Ezra 7 ff.) in Nehemiah's memoirs (Neh. 1 ff.); (b) no allusion to Ezra from the time of his reforms (Ezra 9 f.) till his sudden appearance in connection with the reading of the Law (Neh. 8; 10) and the dedication of the walls (cf. Neh. 12:36), *i.e.* between 458 and 445 (444) B.C. And (c) it is further argued that the work of Ezra reasonably implies that of Nehemiah; viz. his surprise and grief over mixed marriages (Ezra 9:1 ff.) presuppose Nehemiah's reforms (*e.g.* Neh. 13:23 ff.); also the inference that Nehemiah's work in rebuilding the walls, by calling forth the gratitude of the people, would naturally prepare the way for Ezra's drastic measures (Ezra 9 f.). Again, the settled life of the community at Jerusalem on Ezra's arrival (Ezra 7 f.) indicates that the city's walls had been rebuilt and fortified.<sup>1</sup>

According to this theory the date of Ezra's expedition was subsequent to 433 (432) B.C. (= Nehemiah's 2nd visit to Jerusalem; cf. Neh. 13:6).<sup>2</sup> It is the supposition of some

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ezra 9:9, which seems to imply that the walls were rebuilt. See, however, the explanation of this verse, Ryle, *Ezra*, etc., 121.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, the view of Cheyne that Ezra's expedition dates from the 27th year of Artaxerxes, viz. 438 (437) B.C.; *i.e.* between the 1st and 2nd visits of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. See *EBi*, ii. 1474, n. 1; iii. 3385 (Cheyne).

that it was the 37th year of Artaxerxes = c. 427 B.C.; the number 30 having dropped out of the text of Ezra 7:8 by a mistake of the copyist. By others Ezra's date is assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes II, Mnemon (404-361 or 358 B.C.), the 7th year of whose reign = 398-397 B.C.

It may be added that scholars are practically agreed that the Chronicler put Ezra 4:6, 7-23 in a wrong chronological position. See pp. 258 f., iii. c. This shows at least the possibility that he may have done the same in connection with the relative order of the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>1</sup>

i. According to the above view the reconstructed historical order of Ezra-Nehemiah is as follows:—

a. *Events between c. 537-516 (515) B.C.*

Ezra 1:1-4:5 + 24. Return of Exiles; building of altar, etc. c. 537 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

5-6. The building of the Temple, etc. 520 (519)-516 (515) B.C.

b. *Events in the years 445-444 B.C.*

Neh. 1-6. Nehemiah's mission; building the walls, etc.

Ezra 4:6-23. The Samaritan appeal to the king.

Neh. 7:1-5a. Measures for protecting the city.

7:5b-69. // Ezra 2:1-67. List of returned Exiles.

11. Measures for increasing the residents of Jerusalem, etc.

12:1-26. List of Levitical and priestly families.

12:27-43. Dedication of the walls; offerings.

12:44-13:3. Appointment of different officials, etc.

c. *Events connected with Nehemiah's second residence, 433 (432) B.C.*

Neh. 13:4-31. Expulsion of Tobiah from the Temple, etc.

d. *The mission of Ezra, c. 427(?) B.C. or 397(?) B.C.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for further discussion of this question, LOT, 552 f. Bennett, Introd. 118 f. Bennett, Primer, etc., 224. McFadyen, Introd. 337 ff., 346. Cornill, Introd. 252 ff. Gray, Introd. 101 f. Moore, LOT, 130 f. G. A. Smith, Bk. of XII, ii. pp. 194 f. Ryle, Ezra, etc., xl f. Davies, Ezra, etc., 25 ff. Batten, Ezra, etc., 4 ff., 28 ff. HDB, i. 821 (Batten); ii. 515 (Barnes); iv. 979 (Selbie). EBi, ii. 1473 ff., 1480, 1486 (Kosters and Cheyne); 2254 f. (Guthe); iii. 3385 (Kosters and Cheyne). Torrey, Compos., etc., Ezra-Neh. 29 ff. Cheyne, Introd. Isa. xxxiii ff. Cheyne, Jew. Relig. Life, 38 ff. Kent, Jew. People, 108 f., 195 f. Kent, Hist. Biog., etc., 31 ff., 339 ff. H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist. 390 ff. Wade, O. T. Hist. 478 f. McFadyen, Hists. 316 f., 331, n. 1. Sanders, Hist. Hebrs. 242 f., 249 ff., 256 f. Bennett, Post-Exil. Prophs. 90 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> For the view that Ezra 2:70-4:3 + 24b narrate events c. 520 B.C., cf. Batten, Ezra, etc., in loc.

Ezra 7:1-26. Arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, etc.

7:27-8:30. Details of preparation and the journey, etc.

8:31-36 + Neh. 7:70-73a (cf. Ezra 2:68-70). Gifts and offerings.

Neh. 7:73b-8:18. Reading of the Law under Ezra's directions, etc.

Ezra 9. Ezra's grief on account of mixed marriages, etc.

10. His measures of reform, etc.

Neh. 9:1-37. Ezra's public prayer of confession, etc.<sup>1</sup>

9:38-10:39. The covenant and those signing it.

## ii. *Chronology, etc.*

a. After Neh. 7:1-5a some scholars place Neh. 11:1 f; 12:27-43 + 12:44-13:31. Cf. Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 360 ff.

b. After Ezra 8:36 H. P. Smith suggests placing Neh. 7:5 ff. O. T. Hist. 393, n. 1.

c. According to the above historical order, the assembly for the reading of the Law (Neh. 7:73b ff.) = 2 mos. after Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem; cf. Ezra 7:9 (= 5th mo.) with Neh. 7:73b (= 7th mo.).

d. Between Ezra 10:9 and 10:10 some scholars insert Neh. 13:1-3, e.g. McFadyen, *Introd.* 346.

e. After Neh. 10:39 some scholars place Neh. 7:6-69 (// Ezra 2:1-67); Neh. 11:3-36; 12:1-26. Cf. Kent., *Hist. Biog.*, etc., 379 ff.

f. Some scholars place Neh. 8 soon after the events of chap. 10. Cf. EBi. ii. 1486, 1487 (Kosters and Cheyne); 2256 (Guthe).

g. For other variations in the historical order cf. further Kent, *Hist. Biog.*, etc., and Batten, Ezra, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This prayer is attributed to Ezra here, following the LXX reading in vs. 6; an ascription which is considered probable by many modern scholars. See Comms., *Intros.*, etc., in loc.

## APPENDIX B

### THE ANALYSIS OF THE SONG OF SOLOMON (CANTICLES) ACCORDING TO THE "SHEPHERD HYPOTHESIS." c. 300 B.C.

i. *The analysis of the Song of Solomon (Canticles) according to the "Shepherd hypothesis."* c. 300 B.C.

Chaps. 1:1-3:5. *First group of poems.*

a. 1:2-8. *The Shulammite and the women of the court:* the latter celebrate the praises of Solomon (vss. 2, 3, 4*c-e*), and reply ironically to the Shulammite (vs. 8); the former longs for her absent shepherd-lover, and explains her personal appearance (vss. 4*a-b*, 5-7).

b. 1:9-2:7. *The king pleads his suit with the Shulammite* (1:9-11, 15; 2:2); the latter parries the utterances of the king by praising her absent lover, and at the same time reminds the women of the court that true love is a spontaneous affection (1:12-14, 16-2:1, 3-7).

c. 2:8-17. *The shepherd-lover and the Shulammite:* the coming of the former described (vss. 8 f.); his invitation (vss. 10-14); the song of the Shulammite (vs. 15); an expression of her devotion (vss. 16 f.).

d. 3:1-5. *The Shulammite's narration of her dream* (= the first): her search for her absent lover whom she finds (vss. 1-4); her adjuration (vs. 5, cf. 2:7).

Chaps. 3:6-6:3. *The second group of poems.*

a. 3:6-11. *The approaching pageant of king Solomon, — witnessed by the Shulammite and attendant.* The former inquires who is approaching (vs. 6); the latter explains (vss. 7-9, 10?); and exhorts the women of Jerusalem to go forth to see their king (vs. 11).

b. 4:1-7. *Solomon renews his suit with the Shulammite* — he describes and praises her physical charms.

c. 4:8-5:1. *The shepherd-lover's pleading with the Shulammite:* the former entreats her to escape with him from danger (vs. 8), and passionately expresses his love (vss. 9-15); the latter yields (vs. 16); the former joyfully responds (5:1).

d. 5:2-6:3. *The Shulammite's narration of her dream* (= the second): her unsuccessful effort to find her lover (5:2-7);

her waking request of the women of the court to tell him of her love (vs. 8); their question of surprise as to his attractive power (vs. 9); her description of his physical charms (vss. 10-16); their inquiry in reference to where he has gone (6:1); her evasive reply, — her lover is for herself alone (6:2-3).

Chaps. 6:4-8:14. *The third group of poems.*

a. 6:4-13. *Solomon again presses his suit:* he once more praises her physical charms (vss. 4-9); he quotes an encomium of her by the women of the court (vs. 10); the Shulammitte tells where she was when the women of the court met her (vss. 11 f.); her attempt to escape and their entreaty, — her reply of surprise (vs. 13).

b. 7:1-6. *The physical charms of the Shulammitte described and praised by the women of the court.*

c. 7:7-8:4. *The final effort of the king to win the Shulammitte's love:* he again praises her and expresses his love for her (vss. 7-9a, 9c); she declares her affection for her own lover (vss. 9b = an 'aside,' 10); she appeals to him to return to their country home (vss. 11-13); and expresses the wish that he were her brother that her love might find free expression (8:1-3); the refrain (vs. 4; cf. 2:7; 3:5).

d. 8:5-7. *The return of the Shulammitte with her lover:* their approach observed and questioned (vs. 5a-b); she reminds her lover of past events (vs. 5c-e); her declaration of the enduring and irresistible power of love (vss. 6 f.).

e. 8:8-14. *The Shulammitte's vindication:* she recalls her brother's scornful remarks (vss. 8 f.); she affirms her fidelity (vs. 10); and expresses her contempt for Solomon's wealth (vss. 11 f.); her lover appeals to her to sing (vs. 13); her response (vs. 14).

## ii. *Explanatory notes on the Song of Solomon.*

a. The outline of the Song of Solomon from the standpoint of the book being a collection of songs used at marriage festivals has been given, p. 302. Since, however, many modern scholars hold the "shepherd hypothesis" of interpretation, the analysis of the book from this point of view is here appended. According to it the book is dramatic in movement, with *three* leading characters — the plot being as follows. A beautiful country maiden of Shulam (6:13) had been compelled by her harsh brothers to watch the vineyards (1:5 ff.). On a certain day, as she went into a garden, she met with a party belonging to Solomon's court, and by force or persuasion was conducted to the king (6:11 ff.), at first possibly in Jerusalem (1:1-2:7), later somewhere in Lebanon (2:8 ff.; 4:8 ff.). There strong efforts were made by the women of the court



to arouse in her love for the king (1:1 ff.; cf. 7:1 ff.), and also by the king himself (1:9 ff.; 4:1 ff.; 6:4 ff.). To both she was obdurate, declaring that her love belonged to her country-lover (1:7, 12-14, 16-2:1; 3:7, etc.), who seeks her and entreats her to escape from her perilous situation (4:8 ff.). Impressed by her steadfastness the king at length gave her her liberty, and in company with her lover she returned home (8:5 ff.). The climax of the poem according to this view is found in the impassioned praise of true love (8:6 f.).

Among recent defenders of this view, cf. A. Harper, *Song of Sol.* HDB, iv. 589 ff. (Rothstein). The outline of the book given above, with the apportionment of verses and sections to the different characters, practically follows that given by Harper.

Another interpretation of the book may be mentioned, which confines the dramatic movement to two characters, viz. Solomon and the Shulammite—the allusions to the shepherd referring also to the king. Cf. Delitzsch, Keil, etc.

b. 2:8-17 is possibly to be understood as an imaginary scene.

c. On 4:1-7 as modelled on the *wasf*, i.e. a description of the physical beauty of the bridegroom and bride, which forms a part of the wedding rejoicings still in Palestine (cf. also 5:10-16; 6:4-7; 7:1-6), see Comms. in loc.

d. According to some interpreters the scene 4:8 ff. is to be understood as an ideal rather than an actual meeting.

e. The speaker chap. 7:1 ff. is Solomon according to Ewald. Cf. LOT, 442.

f. In the section 7:7-8:4, according to the interpretation adopted in the outline above, the king is supposed to withdraw after 7:10 and the Shulammite then communes in spirit with her absent lover.

g. Some scholars, on the basis of the Syriac, assign 8:5 c-e to the shepherd-lover.

## APPENDIX C

### A SURVEY OF OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY

THIS is a large and intricate problem, which would require more space than can well be given in this volume to discuss it fully. The attempt is here made to take up the most important points and questions involved in it, as supplementary to the different chronological notes throughout this volume, and in order also to bring together in one section, for convenience of reference, some of the data and conclusions found in those notes.

In determining the dates of Old Testament history the sources of information may for convenience be considered as two-fold, viz. the chronological data of the O. T. itself, and what are furnished by other nations, especially from the Assyro-Babylonian and the Egyptian records. This second source is of great value for certain periods of O. T. history (especially the Assyrian records), as its accuracy has been clearly proved (cf. below pp. 335 ff.), and on the basis of it the dates of certain important Biblical events have been absolutely fixed. From these established years others can be determined, at least approximately, by the aid of the chronological data given in the Old Testament.

The chronological data of the O. T. records raise in many places very perplexing questions, and they cannot be used, in fixing the dates of the Biblical history, as if they furnished unquestioned sources of information. This is due: (a) partly to conflicting computations from different sources [e.g. the residence of the Israelites in Egypt = 430 years, Ex. 12:40 (P or R<sup>p</sup>); 400 years, Gen. 15:13 (JE or R); four generations, i.e. 100–150 years, Gen. 15:16 = E];<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ex. 6:16–20 (P), where four generations are given between the time of Joseph and Moses, viz. Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses. "It might perhaps have been *assumed* that a generation in the later patriarchal period equalled 100 years, it is not credible that it should have done so in

(b) partly to the use of round numbers apparently (*e.g.* 40 = a generation, Judg. 3:11; 5:31, etc.;<sup>1</sup> 70 = a lifetime, Ps. 90:10, cf. Jer. 29:10, where 70 is used for the duration of the Exile, which strictly extended from 586–c. 538 B.C.); and (c) partly from inexplicable variation in the chronological data where they are given fully and apparently based on sources equally reliable (*e.g.* the difficult chronological problems in the period of the Divided Kingdom (cf. below pp. 344 ff.)<sup>2</sup>

It is necessary therefore to consider first the extra-Biblical sources of chronological information from which a number of Old Testament dates can be fixed, and then take up the different periods of Hebrew history and try to adjust the Biblical chronology to these established points of time.

#### OUTSIDE AVAILABLE CHRONOLOGICAL HELP

*a. Egyptian sources of information.* Here first in importance is the Ptolemaic Canon. This work of Claudius Ptolemaeus, of the 2nd century A.D., includes a list of the different rulers of Babylon ("Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian") from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great, to which were added the Egyptian Ptolemies and the Romans. The trustworthiness of this Canon is established from the fact that

reality" (Driver, Gen. xxx). This assumption would help to harmonize the apparent (?) variation in Gen. 15:13, 16, but it is more likely, as indicated above, that different sources are represented by these two verses. Cf. *e.g.* Skinner, Gen. in loc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sayce's view that "forty years in Hebrew idiom merely signified an indeterminate and unknown period of time, and the Moabite Stone shows that the same idiom existed also in the Moabite language. Mesha says in the inscription (1. 8): 'Omri took the land of Medeba, and (Israel) dwelt in it during his days and half the days of his son, altogether forty years.' The real length of time was not more than fifteen years." Sayce, *Early Hist. Hebrs.* 145 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also such scattered dates as those in which one occurrence is related in point of time to another; *e.g.* Num. 13:22; Isa. 6:1, etc.; also Am. 1:1 (= "two years before the earthquake"), which is of no service now in determining the exact time of the prophecy, as the year of the earthquake, while probably known when the statement was written, is unknown now.

Many portions of literature are not dated, *e.g.* Joel; Isa. 24–27; 40 ff., whose historic settings, so far as they can be determined, have to be settled on internal evidence. Cf. EBi, i. 775a (Marti). HPM, ii. 420 ff. (n. 6 to § 638, in Ap.).

it contains astronomical data (in addition to the lengths of reigns recorded), *e.g.* the eclipses observed and chronicled by the Babylonians and Alexandrians, which modern astronomy has demonstrated were correctly given. All dates in the Canon are reckoned from the accession of Nabonassar, and "as the dates B.C. of the Persian kings are known independently from Greek sources," the accession of this monarch is found to be 747 B.C.<sup>1</sup> For the relation of this Canon to the Assyrian chronological records, see below pp. 336 f.

*Secondly*, other Egyptian chronological data. Unfortunately the determination of the chronology of Egyptian history is involved in much difficulty and uncertainty, especially as far back as those periods where, according to the Biblical narratives, the Hebrews first came in contact with that nation. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the intricacies of this problem, which are due to the fact of the many contradictions in the chronological material derived from different sources, *e.g.* the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, the classical authors as related to Egyptian affairs, and the records of the Egyptians themselves.

"The most learned Egyptologists can themselves determine Egyptian chronology only through combination with data from outside sources. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes in the year 525 B.C. furnishes their cardinal point. From this event, the years of reign of the kings of the 26th dynasty may be fixed with certainty by the help of the data supplied by the monuments, Herodotus and Manetho. What lies before Psamtik I (= Psammetichus), 664-63 (or c. 660) B.C., the first Pharaoh of this dynasty, however, is in the judgment of Egyptologists more or less uncertain, and therefore for other chronological determinations the records of that earlier time are either not to be used at all or to be used with the greatest caution."<sup>2 3</sup>

*b. The Assyrian records.* The chronological data furnished by Assyrian records belong to three sources, viz.: (a) royal

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, i. 789 f. (Marti).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Breasted's conclusion that it is only prior to the termination of the 10th dynasty, c. 2100 B.C., that the "chronology of Egyptian history becomes unstable and exhibits a margin of uncertainty of at most two centuries; that is, a century either way." Cf. his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, i. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EBi, i. 787 f. (Marti). HDB, i. 656 f. (Crum). Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, i. pp. 25-47. Toffteen, *Ancient Chronology*, 149 ff., etc.

annals, giving detailed accounts of the different reigns; (b), Eponym lists, *i.e.* lists giving the name of the officer after whom the year was called; and (c) the so-called Chronicles, *i.e.* the lists of kings in the order of their succession, with the lengths of their reigns and a short summary of the more important events which occurred. In some cases in the Eponym lists there was added a statement in briefest form of the important events of the year. These lists also mention the occurrence of eclipses, the dating of which has been found absolutely correct, as in the case of the Canon of Ptolemy. The accuracy of these lists "has been confirmed by every possible check."

The following extracts from the Eponym lists, in which the chief events of the year are chronicled, will illustrate the character of these records.

781. Shulmanu-asharidu (= Shalmaneser), king of Assyria.  
Against the land of Urartu.

780. Shamshi-ilu, Tartan (= commander-in-chief). Against  
the land of Urartu.

763. Pur-shagali (?) of the city of Gozan. A revolt in the  
city of Asshur. In the month of Sivan an eclipse of the  
sun took place.

In these lists the first full calendar year after a king's accession was named after him, then follow in succeeding years the names of different officials in the order of their rank and importance after the king.<sup>1</sup>

Now by comparing the same facts chronicled both in the Assyrian sources and the Canon of Ptolemy, the dates B.C. of the different recorded events of Assyrian history can also be determined with certainty. Thus the Eponym lists are complete from the years 893-666 B.C.; also for shorter intervals before and after those dates.

The connection of the Canon of Ptolemy with the Assyrian records is as follows. In the former the succession of Arkeanos of Babylon (= Sargina in the Babylonian list of names = Sargon of Assyria) is determined as 709 B.C. In the Assyrian records the year in which Sargon became king of Babylon is stated to be the 13th year of his rule of Assyria. This accordingly fixes the date

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 231 ff.

of his accession as king of Assyria in 722 (721) B.C., and gives the key to the rest of Assyrian events in terms of years B.C.

The accuracy of the Assyrian chronology thus determined is further confirmed by the entry in the Eponym list, given above, for the year 763 B.C. of an eclipse of the sun in the month Sivan (= June).<sup>1</sup> Astronomers have computed that an eclipse of the sun almost total for Nineveh and vicinity occurred June 15, 763 B.C.

Now the determination of the Assyrian chronology by this process has an important bearing on the dating of events in Biblical history, for Assyria came in contact with Israel as early as the middle of the 9th century B.C., and there are found in its inscriptions references not only to different kings of Israel and Judah (*e.g.* Ahab, Jehu, Hezekiah, etc.), but also to specific occurrences in the history of those Kingdoms, which are definitely dated in the Assyrian records. The result is that a number of important Biblical events are established in this period, which form the basis in the endeavor to fix the time of others by the aid of the Biblical chronological data.

The following are some of the most important dates thus established:—

854 B.C. Ahab of Israel at the battle of Karkar.

842 B.C. Jehu pays tribute to Assyria (probably on his accession).

738 B.C. Menahem pays tribute to Assyria.

722–21 B.C. Capture of Samaria by Assyria.

701 B.C. Invasion of Judah by Sennacherib of Assyria.

## 2. THE OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGICAL DATA AS ADJUSTED TO OUTSIDE SOURCES OF HELP

Having thus described the important help received from these outside sources, in establishing the dates of a number of important events in O. T. history, it now remains to consider the Biblical chronological data, especially as related to these fixed years, — the difficulties involved and the adjustments which have to be made. For convenience pre-exilic history may be separated into two main sections, viz. the period preceding and the period following the division of the Kingdom (1 Ki. 12). The date 937 B.C. for this event is

<sup>1</sup> For the Assyro-Babylonian months, see p. 205.

one upon which there is quite general agreement (cf. below, p. 344, *B. a.*).

*A. The period preceding 937 B.C.* While the chronology of the main O. T. events after this year can be determined as a whole with a good deal of certainty (though in many places the opinion of authorities varies and approximate dating is all that can be assured<sup>1</sup>), on the other hand for the general period before this time there is much uncertainty and considerable variation in the dates assigned to different events. This is due to two causes: 1st, the character of the chronological data given in the Biblical records; and 2nd, the difficulty in part of synchronizing the occurrences of this period with outside history.<sup>2</sup> The different sub-divisions of this general period prior to 937 B.C. may now be considered.

*a. The Patriarchal period.* (Cf. Gen. 12-50.)

Here the events of early Hebrew history, according to the Biblical narratives, come in contact with the outside world at the beginning and the end of the period. The first is recorded in Gen. 14 where Abram is represented as being a contemporary of Hammurabi (= Amraphel of Gen. 14:1) of Babylon, whose reign until recently was placed c. 2300 or 2200 B.C. Further research has led to the conclusion on the part of Assyriologists that his date belongs later, c. 2100 or between 2000 and 1900 B.C.<sup>3</sup> But the opinion of scholars is divided regarding the historical trustworthiness of Gen. 14 (see p. 31, ii.), and hence the time of Abraham cannot be fixed with certainty by this Biblical reference.

The other point of contact with the outside world is found at the end of this period in the narratives of Joseph at the court of Pharaoh (Gen. 41 ff.). But here there is a two-fold difficulty; first in reference to the identification of this Pharaoh, and secondly (in a less degree) in the determination of the Egyptian chronology, as there is considerable variation in the dates assigned by Egyptologists to this early period. Note, however, the fact that Petrie and Breasted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement of E. L. Curtis, pp. 134 f., iv. b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the conclusion of Sayce that nothing can be learned "from the books of the Old Testament about the chronology of Israel down to the time of David." His *Early Hist. Hebrs.* 143-146.

<sup>3</sup> King's dates = c. 1958-1916 B.C. (*Chron. Early Bab. Kings*). Cf. Skinner, Gen. xiv, n. †.

agree approximately in their dating here (cf. next paragraphs).

If Apepa II, the last important Hyksos king, is identified as the Pharaoh of Joseph, then the date of his career may be placed with reasonable certainty c. 1600 B.C. (shortly before or after that year), as there is quite general agreement that the domination of these kings ended about that time. See also pp. 32 f., ii. *a*.

If Amenophis IV of the 18th dynasty is regarded as the more probable ruler (Winckler, Sayce, Kent, etc.), there is more agreement as to the dates of his reign among recent scholars, cf. 1383–1365 B.C. (Petrie); 1375–1358 B.C. (Breasted).

Turning now to the Biblical chronological data for this period the most systematic computations are found in P, the latest of the sources, but there is no certainty that they rest upon reliable tradition.<sup>1</sup> It is at least an interesting relation, however, to be noticed that if Abraham is considered a contemporary of Hammurabi, c. 1900 B.C., the 215 years assigned to the Patriarchal period by P bring Joseph into approximate synchronism with the beginning of the Hyksos dynasty, which Breasted dates tentatively c. 1675–1575 B.C. Cf. however Petrie = 2098–1587 B.C.

The number 215 is based on the following references in P:—Abraham's age when he left Haran = 75 (Gen. 12:4); Isaac's birth 25 years later (21:5); Jacob's birth 60 years later (25:26b); and the migration to Egypt 130 years after that (47:9, 28).<sup>2</sup>

*The period of Primitive times*, Gen. 1–11. These chapters are now so generally recognized as parabolical rather than historical in character that their consideration in the chronology of the O. T. may reasonably be relegated to a subordinate place.<sup>3</sup> According to P, between the Creation of man and the Flood = 1656 years; from the Flood to the call of Abram = 365, a total of 2021 years. This result is based on the genealogical lists of chaps. 5 and 11:10 ff.

<sup>1</sup> According to McNeile the chronology of P is discredited by (a) "the great length of life attributed to the patriarchs" (Abraham = 175 years, Gen. 25:7; Isaac = 180, 35:28; Jacob = 147, 47:28) and (b) "by the fact that his dates appear to be arrived at by an artificial system of computation." Cf. his Ex. 76.

<sup>2</sup> For the conflicts between the presuppositions of JE and the chronological data of P in Gen. 12 ff., cf. Driver, Gen. 149, 212, 262, 365, n. 1, 368; cf. also Ency. Brit. iii. 866b (Driver).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the statement, pp. 8 f.



together with 7 : 6 ; 12 : 4b. The difficulties here are *first*, the great age attributed to the antediluvians in chap. 5 ; cf. also the ages in 11 : 10 ff., upon which the above computation is based, which modern scholars consider must be founded upon some artificial, chronological scheme that is not to be taken literally. But *secondly*, even if these numbers are taken literally and c. 1900 B.C. is granted as the date of Abraham, the result (1900 + 2021) c. 3921 B.C. for the creation of man is regarded as a date much too late in the light of the early civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt, and the results of geological investigation. This is true even for Ussher's date 4004 B.C. or for the earlier calculations on the basis of the Samaritan and LXX texts.<sup>1 2</sup>

The following judgment by so careful a student as Driver regarding this early period, which is in accord with Sayce's view cited above,<sup>3</sup> is very significant. "The only conclusion which the facts thus summed up justify is that the chronology of the Book of Genesis, — which is, in effect, P's chronology, — in spite of the ostensible precision of its details, has *no historical value*. . . . It is an artificial system, which must have been arrived at in some way by computation ; though the data upon which it was calculated have not at present been ascertained."<sup>4</sup>

*b. The period of the Exodus and the desert wanderings (Ex.-Deut. in part).*

In this period the events of Hebrew history are associated very definitely with Egypt in the narratives of the Oppression and Exodus of the Israelites (Ex. 1-14). But the same uncertainty in measure exists here as in the case of Joseph, regarding the identification of the Pharaohs. The view which is most commonly held is that Rameses II of the 19th dynasty is the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merneptah, is the Pharaoh of the Exodus, whose dates according to Breasted are respectively 1292-1225 and c. 1225-1215 B.C. Hence sometime within the century 1300-1200 B.C. for these Biblical events seems a reasonable conclusion.

Cf. the fact that some scholars place the Oppression and Exodus under earlier Pharaohs, *e.g.* between 1400-1250 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Others

<sup>1</sup> According to the Samaritan text from the Creation of man to the Flood = 1307 years ; from the Flood to the call of Abraham = 1015 = a total of 2322 years. For the corresponding periods the LXX gives 2262 + 1145 = a total of 3407 years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the excellent discussion of this topic in Driver, Gen. xxxi ff., cf. xxv ff. <sup>3</sup> See p. 338, n. 2. <sup>4</sup> Cf. Driver, *Ibid.*, xxx.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Robinson, Deut., etc., 262 f. (= 1400-1250 B.C., the period within which Isr. settled in Palestine).

again, while taking Rameses II as the oppressor, put the Exodus in the time of some Pharaoh later than Merneptah, *e.g.* Rameses III (McCurdy, but note his date = c. 1200 B.C.).

Cf. also c. 1300 ff. B.C. for the Oppression and c. 1225 B.C. for the Exodus, p. 34, ii. *a.* and p. 35, ii. *a.*<sup>1</sup>

The Biblical data bearing on this period, which also involve complicated problems, are as follows. *First*, the statement that the founding of Solomon's temple was 480 years after the Exodus (1 Ki. 6:1 = R<sup>D2</sup>?).<sup>2</sup> The time of the founding of the Temple is placed now in the first part of the 10th century B.C., *e.g.* c. 975 B.C. (Curtis), or c. 960 B.C. (McCurdy), reckoning backward from dates fixed by the aid of Assyrian chronology in the Divided Kingdom. This would bring the Exodus c. 1450 B.C., which is regarded by practically all scholars as a date entirely too early.

Cf. the conclusion of Curtis that 300 instead of 480 years is a more correct estimate of the time between these two events. McCurdy thinks that 480 is twice too great a figure. Cf. his date for the Exodus, c. 1200 B.C., and for the building of the Temple, c. 960 B.C.

It is to be noted that 480 does not harmonize with the detailed Biblical chronology for this period = 40 years in the desert (Num. 14:33 f., etc.); 7(?) for the conquest of Palestine (Josh. 14:6-15, cf. Deut. 2:14); 410 for the period of the Judges (cf. below p. 343); 40 for Eli's judgeship (1 Sam. 4:18); 20 or more for Samuel (1 Sam. 7:2, 15); 20(?) for Saul; 40 for David (1 Ki. 2:11) + 4 years of Solomon's reign = 581 years.

It is the view of many scholars that the 480 years represent an artificial computation, viz. a period of 12 generations [cf. above on the use of the number 40 as a round number, p. 334 (b)]. Cf. also the fact that on the basis of the Biblical chronology (espec. that of the Southern Kingdom = Judah), the period from the founding of the Temple to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C., followed by the return of the Exiles, c. 536 B.C. (which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the view of Toffteen of two Exodi, — according to the data furnished by JED = 1447 B.C., cf. beginning of oppression, c. 1566 B.C., and settlement in Egypt, 1877 B.C. According to P the Exodus, c. 1144 B.C.; cf. beginning of the oppression, 1183 B.C., and the settlement in Egypt, c. 1340-24 B.C. Cf. his *Historie Exodus*, 223 ff., cf. 270.

<sup>2</sup> According to the LXX, 440 years. Josephus, *Ant.* viii, 3, § 1, gives 592 years.

marked the beginning of a new era of Jewish history) = also 480 years, viz. —

36–37 years = balance of Solomon's reign.

260 years = from division of the Kingdom to the fall of Samaria.

133½ years = from the fall of Samaria to the fall of Jerusalem.

50 years = length of the Exile, 586–c. 536 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

*Secondly*, the data more immediately relating to this period, *e.g.* the number of years attributed to the residence of the Israelites in Egypt. As previously noticed, the sources vary in their statements from 430 (or 400) years to four generations (= 100–150 years). Gen. 15:13–16; Ex. 12:40. [See p. 333 (*a*).<sup>2</sup>] Taking c. 1225 B.C. as a tentative date for the Exodus (see p. 35, ii. *a.*) and 430 or 400 years as the length of residence in Egypt and the result places the Pharaoh of Joseph within the Hyksos period, according to Breasted's dating for that dynasty (c. 1675–1575 B.C.). This harmonizes with the traditional view of this Pharaoh. On the other hand, starting with c. 1225 B.C. and taking the shorter estimation of 100–150 years and the date resulting harmonizes with Amenophis IV (1375–58, B.C., Breasted) as the Pharaoh of Joseph. Thus is demonstrated again the uncertain and unsatisfactory character of the early Biblical chronological data. (See also pp. 32 f., ii. *a.*)

The time occupied by the residence at Sinai and in the desert is given as 40 years (Num. 14:34; 33:38 = P; 14:33 = JE (or P); Josh. 5:6 = D<sup>2</sup>). This probably is another instance of the use of a round number.

*c. The period of the conquest of Palestine.* Joshua and Judg. 1:1–2:5.

Taking c. 1225 B.C. as the time of the Exodus, and the 40 years at Sinai and in the desert as a round number, then c. 1200 B.C. may be assigned as the approximate date of the Conquest, though authorities vary between 1200 and c. 1150 B.C. Cf. further on this point and on the calculation of 7 years for the time occupied by the Conquest, pp. 42 f., iv. *a.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EBi, i. 782 f. (Marti). W. R. Smith, *Prophs. Isr.*<sup>2</sup> 146 ff., etc., and *Comms.* on 1 Ki. 6:1.

<sup>2</sup> According to the LXX of Ex. 12:40 the 430 years include "the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan," *i.e.* 430–215 (= Patriarchal period) = 215 years in Egypt.

*d. The period of the Judges.* Judg. 2:6–21:25 + 1 Sam. 1–7.

While there is much Biblical chronological data for this time in Hebrew history, unfortunately they raise only difficulties instead of being a help in determining the time and limits of this period. By adding the number of years assigned to the different judges, in the book of Judges, to the different terms of oppression recorded, a total of 410 years is obtained. But evidently this period could not have been so extensive, as this estimate would place it too far back reckoning from later fixed dates. Hence it is customary by modern scholars to assign a shorter term for the period of the Judges, varying from two to two and a half centuries (= book of Judges, *e.g.* Wade, McFadyen) to “not much more than a century” (= up to the accession of Saul, *e.g.* Deborah to Saul, c. 1130–1030 B.C. according to McCurdy).

To Eli 40 years are given (1 Sam. 4:18, cf. LXX = 20 years) and to Samuel 20 or more years (= inference from 1 Sam. 7:2, 15). These again are probably to be considered as round numbers. The tentative dates assigned in this volume for the whole period = c. 1190–1050 (or 1040) B.C. Cf. pp. 51 f., iv. *a. b.*

The following are the detailed references in Judges for the numbers from which the total of 410 years is obtained. Oppression 8 years (3:8), Othniel 40 (3:11), oppression 18 (3:14), Ehud 80 (3:30), oppression 20 (4:2), Deborah 40 (5:31), oppression 7 (6:1), Gideon 40 (8:28), Abimelech 3 (9:22), Tola 23 (10:2), Jair 22 (10:3), oppression 18 (10:8), Jephthah 6 (12:7), Ibzan 7 (12:9), Elon 10 (12:11), Abdon 8 (12:14), oppression 40 (13:1), Samson 20 (15:30 = 16:31).

In explanation of this excessive total two suggestions are usually offered, viz. the use of 40 and its multiples (20, 80) as round numbers, and the probability that some of the judges at least were “local and contemporaneous with others.”<sup>1</sup>

*e. The period of the United Kingdom.* 1 Sam. 8–1 Ki. 11.

The dates assigned to this period in this volume are c. 1040–937 B.C. For the date 937 B.C., cf. below under *B, a.* For

<sup>1</sup> For various attempts made to adjust the chronological problem of the time of the Judges, cf. Comms., Intros. and Bible Dicts. on the book of Judges. See also Kittel, *Hist. Hebrs.* ii. 8 ff.

the probable length of this period and the difficulty connected with Saul's reign (cf. pp. 75 f., iv. a. c.).

*B. The period of the Divided Kingdom, 1 Ki. 12–2 Ki. 25.*

*a. The period between the division of the Kingdom and the accession of Jehu of Israel and Athaliah of Judah (1 Ki. 12–2 Ki. 11 : 1 ff.), 937–842 B.C.*

The date 842 B.C. for the accession of Jehu of Israel (2 Ki. 9 f., synchronous with Athaliah's accession in Judah, 2 Ki. 11 : 1 ff.) is determined by the Assyrian chronology, as in that year Jehu paid tribute to Assyria, and it is generally supposed that this was given most probably at the time he ascended the throne. The date 937 B.C. is determined by reckoning back from 842 B.C. 95 years, *i.e.* the length of time assigned to the reigns of the different *kings of Judah* in that period (= Rehoboam 17, Abijam 3, Asa 41, Jehoshaphat 25, Joram 8 and Ahaziah 1).

The approximate correctness of this date, 937 B.C., is shown by the fact that the invasion of Shishak of Egypt (c. 950–930 B.C.; cf. 945–924 = Breasted) in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign (1 Ki. 14 : 25) harmonizes with this computation.

It is to be noted that the extent of this period following the line of the kings of Israel is 98 years (= Jeroboam 22; Nadab 2; Baasha 24; Elah 2; Omri 12; Ahab 22; Ahaziah 2; Joram 12). As the number of years recorded in connection with the kingdom of Judah is generally accepted as correct for this period, different adjustments are made in the line of the kingdom of Israel in order to make its chronology correspond.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to some scholars the actual number of years between the division of the Kingdom and 842 (or 843) B.C. = 89. This is based on the view that in the Biblical reckoning the calendar year, in which one reign terminated and another began, was counted as a full year in each of those reigns, *i.e.* was counted twice. Hence in order to obtain the exact length of time of this period a year ought to be deducted from the length ascribed to each reign. Thus 95 years for Judah — 6 kings = 89 years; and 98 years for Israel — 9 kings = 89 years. According to this method of computing the division of the Kingdom = 932 or 931 B.C. See especially Skinner, Ki. 40 f.

It may be added that this method of counting parts of years as full years, *i.e.* *predating*, was evidently followed in some cases; *e.g.* the siege of Samaria which began in the 4th and ended in the 6th year of Hezekiah's reign, according to 2 Ki. 18 : 9 f., is reckoned as a three-years' siege. On the other hand, the Assyrians usually followed the method of *post-*

For example, the death of Ahab (1 Ki. 22 : 29 ff.) is usually dated in 854 or 853 B.C. From the Assyrian records it is known that he was a member of a coalition of kings of Western Asia which fought against Shalmaneser III at the battle of Karkar 854 B.C. Between 853 and 842 B.C. (= Jehu's accession) = a total of 11 years. But according to the Biblical chronology between these two events fall the reigns of Ahaziah, 2 years, and Joram 12 (1 Ki. 22 : 51 ; 2 Ki. 3 : 1) = a total of 14 years.

In order to meet this difficulty different solutions have been suggested ; *e.g.* (a) that the two years assigned to Ahaziah = fractions of two consecutive years ; or (b) that Joram on account of Ahaziah's injury (2 Ki. 1 : 2) became regent, and that the 12 years ascribed to his reign include his regency, *i.e.* that his reign actually = 10 years.

According to the statement in 2 Ki. 3 : 4 f. (cf. 1 : 1), Moab under its king Mesha rebelled against Israel after Ahab's death. The Moabite stone discovered at Dibon in 1868, which gives Mesha's account of his struggle with Israel, states that Moab was oppressed 40 years, during the days of Omri and half the days of his son. Taking this statement literally it conflicts with the Biblical chronology, as the sum of the years assigned to Omri and Ahab amounts to only 34 (= Omri 12, and Ahab 22 ; 1 Ki. 16 : 23, 29).

Among solutions offered may be mentioned (a) the assigning of a longer period to Omri's reign, *e.g.* c. 25 years, by taking 10 from Baasha's reign of 24 years (1 Ki. 15 : 33), dating it c. 900-875 B.C. (cf. Whitehouse, HDB, iii. 620 f.) ; and (b) the identification of "his son" (*i.e.* Omri's son), mentioned in the inscription, with Omri's grandson, Jehoram, passing over Ahab and Ahaziah. This would harmonize with 2 Ki. 1 : 1 and 3 : 4 ff. (cf. Curtis in HDB, i. 402), *etc.*<sup>1</sup>

Mention may be made of the difficult chronological problems raised by the synchronisms of the Divided Kingdom in different places, though their discussion will be omitted in this survey, since they relate to minor points of dating, whose consideration would extend this conspectus to too great a

*dating, i.e.* "to call the period between the accession and the 1st new year's day 'the beginning of the reign' ; while the year from the new year's day was called 'the 1st year,' and the following ones were numbered successively from it." It is quite possible that both methods were used by the Hebrews. Cf. HDB, i. 400 f. (Curtis) ; EBi, i. 781 f. (Marti). McCurdy, HPM, ii. pp. 420 ff. (n. 6 to § 638), *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Note Sayce's view that the time during which Moab was oppressed was not more than 15 years. See ref. p. 334, n.<sup>1</sup>.

length. (Cf. for the synchronistic method, 1 Ki. 15:1, 9, 25, etc., continuing up to 2 Ki. 18.)

As an illustration, cf. in 1 Ki. 22 the synchronism of vs. 51 with vs. 41. According to the latter the 1st year of Jehoshaphat = the 4th of Ahab; hence the 17th of Jehoshaphat (vs. 51) would equal the 20th or 21st of Ahab, leaving still 1 or 2 years to Ahab (cf. his reign of 22 years, 1 Ki. 16:29) instead of coinciding with the end of his reign, etc. Cf. Comms. on Kings. Kautzsch, LOT, 73 f. EBI, i. 778 ff. (Marti), etc.

*b. The period between the accessions of Jehu of Israel and Athaliah of Judah on the one hand and the downfall of Israel on the other (2 Ki. 9-17) = 842-722 (721) B.C.*

The dates 842 and 722 (721) B.C. (= capture of Samaria by the Assyrians) are definitely fixed by the Assyrian chronology. This gives an intervening period of 120-1 years. But the length of time between these events, adding the years given to the different rulers of Judah, is a total of 165 years (= Athaliah 6; Joash 40; Amaziah 29; Azariah (Uzziah) 52; Jotham 16; Ahaz 16 + 6 years of Hezekiah's reign, *i.e.* the year of his reign in which Samaria fell, according to 2 Ki. 18:10). And here again the computation in the kingdom of Israel gives a variant total, *viz.* 143 years and 7 months (= Jehu 28; Jehoahaz 17; Joash 16; Jeroboam II 41; Zechariah 6 mos.; Shallum 1 mo.; Menahem 10 years; Pekahiah 2; Pekah 20; and Hoshea 9).

A shortening is therefore necessary in the line of both Kingdoms in order to conform to the number of years which is determined by the Assyrian records. The following adjustments in the reigns of the two Kingdoms have been suggested accordingly by different scholars.

*First, in the kingdom of Judah:—*

(a) *The reign of Amaziah of Judah.* His reign of 29 years (2 Ki. 14:1 ff.), adding the number of years assigned to the different kings in this line from 842 B.C., given above, would be 796-767 B.C. It is commonly held, however, that this makes its termination too late. It is quite generally believed that the reigns of his successor Uzziah and Jeroboam II of Israel were practically parallel in duration, *i.e.* that Amaziah's rule ended c. 782 (?) B.C., thus making its term about 14 years in length.

In favor of this view may be mentioned, 1st, the probability that

the war of Joash with Amaziah (2 Ki. 14 : 8 ff.) was near the end of his (Joash's) reign, subsequent to his victories over the Syrians (= Damascus, 2 Ki. 13 : 24 f.); 2nd, the presumption that Amaziah's death by conspiracy (2 Ki. 14 : 17 ff.) was the outcome of his defeat by Joash; and 3rd, the fact established by Assyrian chronology that Ahaz was king of Judah as early as c. 735 B.C. [cf. below (a), 2nd]. This necessitates an abridgment and adjustment of the years assigned to the kings of Judah, from Amaziah to Ahaz. As given in 2 Kings the total number of years for these reigns = 97 (= Amaziah 29; Uzziah 52; Jotham 16). See further under (b).

(b) *The reigns of Uzziah and Jotham.* The number of years assigned to these two kings = 52 and 16 respectively (2 Ki. 15 : 2, 33). Even with the shortening of Amaziah's reign, adopted above, the length of time attributed to Uzziah-Jotham is too great, as Ahaz was on the throne of Judah c. 735 B.C. A common and reasonable explanation for this difficulty is that Jotham may have served as regent during his father's illness (2 Ki. 15 : 5), and that the 16 years attributed to his reign included his regency + the years he was king alone after his father's death. Accordingly Uzziah's death is assigned c. 740 B.C.; Jotham's regency beginning c. 750 B.C. This makes his rule as sole king c. 740-735 B.C.

(c) *The reign of Ahaz* = 16 years (2 Ki. 16 : 2) = c. 735-719 B.C. For the difficulties involved here with other chronological data connected with Hezekiah's reign, cf. below pp. 350 f., (b).

*Secondly, adjustments in the kingdom of Israel:—*

The adjustments in the line of Israel's kings are usually made in the reigns between the death of Jeroboam II = c. 740 B.C. and the capture of Samaria 722 (721) B.C. The length of time assigned to this period in Kings is entirely too great (even if the termination of Jeroboam's reign is dated c. 745 or 749 B.C. as some scholars prefer), viz. c. 41 years (= Zechariah 6 mos.; Shallum 1 mo.; Menahem 10 years; Pekahiah 2; Pekah 20; Hoshea 9), whereas the actual time intervening = c. 18 years.

(a) *Assyrian chronology bearing on this period.*

1st. Menahem's tribute to Pul (= Pulu) = Tiglath-pileser IV of Assyria (2 Ki. 15 : 19, cf. vs. 29), 738 B.C. A reasonable inference is that this date must have been soon after his accession, as according to the Biblical statement the tribute was given to secure the Assyrian support to his position as king (vs. 19).

2nd. The capture of Damascus (2 Ki. 16 : 9) after a two-years' siege, 733-732 B.C. This took place in connection with events in which Ahaz of Judah and Pekah of Israel were concerned (2 Ki. 16 : 5 ff.; Isa. 7 : 1 ff.), thus placing the invasion of Israel by the Assyrians (2 Ki. 15 : 29 f.), probably c. 734 B.C.



3rd. The capture of Samaria after a siege of 3 years (2 Ki. 17: 5 f.), 722–721 B.C.<sup>1 2</sup>

(b) *Adjustments of the Biblical chronology for Israel to the Assyrian data.*

1st. *The reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah.* As noticed above Menahem was reigning in 738 B.C., as he paid tribute to Assyria in that year. His second successor Pekah was involved in war with Ahaz of Judah in 735 or 734 B.C., resulting in the capture of part of his territory by Assyria (2 Ki. 15: 29 f.). The termination of Pekahiah's rule and the accession of Pekah may be placed with confidence c. 735 B.C. The 2 years attributed to Pekahiah (2 Ki. 15: 23) seem correct, thus bringing the beginning of his reign and the end of Menahem's c. 737 B.C. A view quite generally held, as noted above, is that Menahem probably paid tribute soon after he became king, *i.e.* that he ascended the throne c. 740 B.C., and hence that the 10 years given to his reign (2 Ki. 15: 17) are excessive, unless his accession is dated earlier and the number of years attributed to his predecessor, Jeroboam II, is correspondingly reduced. Perhaps the number 10 in this instance is to be understood as a round number.

2nd. *The reigns of Pekah-Hoshea.* According to 2 Ki. 15: 27 Pekah ruled 20 years, but there is evidently a serious error in this

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that in the Nimroud inscription of Tiglath-pileser IV (745–727 B.C.), Ahaz of Judah is mentioned, with other neighboring kings, as paying tribute to Assyria.

<sup>2</sup> So (or Seve) of Egypt who is mentioned as a contemporary of Hoshea of Israel (2 Ki. 17: 4), at the time of his rebellion against Assyria, has generally been identified with Sabako (Shabako), the founder of the 25th dynasty. It is doubtful, however, whether he became king till somewhat later than the time referred to in 2 Ki. 17: 3 f. = demonstration of Assyria against Hoshea, which usually is supposed to have occurred on Shalmaneser's accession, 727 B.C. Breasted's date for Sabako's accession = 712 B.C. One explanation is that, being an officer of importance, he is termed king here incorrectly by anticipation by the compiler. Another view is that the reference is to a king of Mutsri in North Arabia, not of Egypt (= *Mitsraim* in Hebr.). Owing to the uncertainty here this Biblical reference is of little use for the chronology of this time. Cf. Comms. on Kings in loc.

Further, it is the view of some scholars that there is room for only one campaign of Shalmaneser (or demonstration of force) against Hoshea, and hence no place for the interval of time which seems to be presupposed between the events of 2 Ki. 17, vss. 3 and 4. The Assyrian records expressly state that no foreign expeditions were made in 726 B.C. Various solutions have been offered, *e.g.* (a) that 2 Ki. 17: 3 ff. = parallel accounts, — vss. 3–4 = the fate of the king; vss. 5–6 (cf. 18: 9–11) = fate of Samaria = Winckler's view formerly. (b) The view that "Shalmaneser" is to be omitted from vs. 3, the reference being to Hoshea's submission to Tiglath-pileser upon the death of Pekah. According to this explanation 9 years intervene between vss. 3 and 4 (= Kittel, Winckler). Cf. further Comms. on Kings in loc.

number. His death occurred in connection with the Assyrian invasion of his kingdom c. 734 B.C. (2 Ki. 15: 29 f.). Cf. Tiglath-pileser's own inscription relating to this event: "as Pekah, their king, they had deposed, Hosea I established as king over them." Hence Pekah ruled most probably c. 735-734 (733) B.C. Cf. above under (b) 1st, for the probable date of his accession.<sup>1</sup>

Taking c. 734 B.C. as the date of Hoshea's accession, the 9 years assigned to his reign (2 Ki. 17: 1) bring its end c. 725 B.C. This harmonizes with the Biblical statement (2 Ki. 17: 4 f.) that he was taken prisoner in the year the siege of Samaria began, but not with other chronological data that the capture of this city by the Assyrians, 722-721 B.C., occurred in the 9th year of his reign (2 Ki. 17: 6a; 18: 10). Cf. also p. 348, n.<sup>2</sup>, second paragraph.

c. *The chronology of the surviving kingdom of Judah* (2 Ki. 18-25), 722 (721)-586 B.C.

(a) *Assyro-Babylonian chronology* (cf. *Canon of Ptolemy*) as bearing on this period.

The main points of chronology, established by extra-Biblical sources, which help to correct and determine the Biblical dates for this period, are as follows:—

1st. 701 B.C. The invasion of Judah by Sennacherib of Assyria. Cf. 2 Ki. 18: 13 ff.<sup>2</sup>

2nd. c. 607 B.C. The downfall of Assyria.

3rd. 605 (604) B.C. The accession of Nebuchadrezzar of Babylonia 605 (604)-562 (561) B.C. The time of his reign is determined by the Ptolemaic Canon. Different Biblical writings and events are dated according to the years of his reign (e.g. Jer. 25: 1; 2 Ki. 24: 12b; 25: 8, etc.).

4th. 605 (604) B.C. The battle of Carchemish. According to Berosus (as cited by Josephus, Ant. x, 11, § 1; c. Ap. i. 19) this battle between the Chaldeans and Egyptians occurred in the last year of the reign of Nabopolassar (= Nebuchadrezzar's father and predecessor). Cf. this event synchronized with the 4th year of Jehoiakim (Jer. 46: 2).

5th. 597 B.C. 1st capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans

<sup>1</sup> Another solution suggested for the chronological difficulties here is that Pekahiah and Pekah = variant names for the same person, and that therefore the Biblical records are in error in regarding them as two distinct kings. Cf. the similarity in the events of the two reigns. But even on this theory the number 20 given to the years of Pekah's reign is much too great. Cf. EBi, iii. 3643 (Cheyne), whose dates are 735-730 (?) B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Mention is made in the Assyrian inscriptions of Manasseh of Judah being a vassal in the reigns of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) and of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.).

(2 Ki. 24 : 10 ff.) = 8th year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign (vs. 12b). Cf. the fact that Ezekiel dates his messages from this event = 1st captivity of the Jews. (Cf. pp. 114 f.; 171, 2. B.)

6th. 586 B.C. The second capture of Jerusalem and its destruction = 19th year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign (2 Ki. 25 : 1 ff., 8 ff.).

(b) *The adjustment of the Biblical chronology to the above dates.*

1st. *The reign of Hezekiah.* If c. 735 B.C. is taken as the time of the accession of Ahaz (cf. above p. 347, (b)), the 16 years assigned to his reign (2 Ki. 16 : 2) bring its termination and the accession of Hezekiah c. 719 B.C. From c. 719 B.C. to 586 B.C. [= downfall of Jerusalem, cf. above (a), 6th] = c. 133 years. This, however, does not harmonize with the length of time given for the kings of this period (= Hezekiah 29; Manasseh 55; Amon 2; Josiah 31; Jehoiakim 11; Zedekiah 11) = 139 years. (a) One method of meeting this difficulty is on the assumption that the last year of each king and the 1st of his successor were the same (= *pre-dating method*, cf. p. 344, n.<sup>1</sup>), i.e. the deduction of one year from each reign from Hezekiah to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. gives the total of 133 years. 586 B.C. + 133 = 719 B.C. It is maintained that, since this period is comparatively near to the compiler's day, the number of years he assigns to the different reigns is likely to be correct, especially from the time of Josiah. The date 719 B.C. for Hezekiah's accession is adopted in this volume, but a reduction is made in the years given to his successor, cf. under Manasseh, below.

There are two other chronological schemes, however, for Hezekiah's reign: the first of these places his accession in 727 or 726 B.C. This is based on the synchronism of the 6th year of his rule with the capture of Samaria in 722-721 B.C. (2 Ki. 18 : 9 ff.). In favor of this view is the total number of years assigned to the reigns of this period given above, viz. 139. 586 B.C. + 139 = 725 B.C., which harmonizes approximately with the Biblical synchronism.

According to the other chronological scheme Hezekiah's accession = 715 B.C. This is based on another variant Biblical synchronism, viz. the invasion of Judah by Assyria in 701 B.C. with the 14th year of his reign (2 Ki. 18 : 13). Those holding this view consider the numerical statement of this verse more trustworthy than that in vs. 10, since the latter harmonizes with the synchronism for the Divided Kingdom stated in vs. 1, and these synchronisms are often incorrect (cf. above pp. 345 f.). Further, this date harmonizes, as neither of the others (cf. 727 or 725 and c. 719 B.C.) do, with the king's age on his accession, viz. 25 years (2 Ki. 18 : 2),

whose father's age = 20 when he came to the throne (2 Ki. 16 : 2), c. 735 B.C. Those holding the theory of a second expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, c. 691 B.C., find in this another point in favor of the date 715 B.C. (See p. 150, iii. e.)

The 715 B.C. date is favored by most German scholars and by a number of English and American authorities. Those adopting this chronological scheme, usually adjust the excess of Biblical computation for this period by deducting from the 55 years given to Manasseh (cf. below 2nd).

2nd. *The reign of Manasseh.* The years assigned by the compiler of Kings to Manasseh's successors to the end of the Kingdom are generally taken as correct, as already stated above, viz. Amon 2; Josiah 31; Jehoiakim 11; Zedekiah 11 = 55 years. Hence 586 B.C. + 55 = 641 B.C. = the termination of Manasseh's reign and the accession of Amon. Taking this date 641 B.C. it is necessary to adjust the 55 years assigned to Manasseh's rule in almost any scheme of chronology adopted for Hezekiah's reign, especially with the dates of accession c. 719 or 715 B.C., as 641 B.C. + 55 = 696 B.C.

For example, 719 B.C. + 29 years of Hezekiah (2 Ki. 18 : 2) = c. 690 B.C. 690-641 B.C. = c. 49 years for Manasseh's reign. This is the scheme adopted in this volume.

On the other hand 715 B.C. + 29 years = c. 686 B.C. c. 686 B.C. - 641 B.C. = 45 years for Manasseh's reign.

Scholars vary all the way from 699 to 686 B.C. as the date of the beginning of Manasseh's reign and from 643 to 637 B.C. for its end.

The incidental items of chronology, including the dating of literary productions, between 937-586 B.C. are given in the introductory sections and as notes in the outline of Biblical material covering this period. See pp. 85-132; 133-169.

Cf. the fact noted above, that in the prophecy of Ezekiel the dates which are given in the different sections are reckoned from 597 B.C., when Jerusalem was taken and the first body of Hebrews was carried into exile (2 Ki. 24 : 8 ff.).

### *C. Exilic and post-exilic periods, 586 ff. B.C.*

The chronology of Biblical events from the time of the Captivity, 586 B.C., onward is reckoned by the reigns of the different monarchs under whom the Jews lived (e.g. 2 Ki. 25 : 8; Ezra 1 : 1; Hag. 1 : 1; Zech. 1 : 1, etc.). The dates of these sovereigns of the Babylonian, Persian and Greek periods are determined by the Canon of Ptolemy, "which supplies an assured framework into which the data that have

been preserved can be fitted without trouble." The chronological data, however, are not extensive, and there is some uncertainty also regarding the identification of the particular king mentioned, in some instances; *e.g.* the Artaxerxes of Ezra 7 ff. (cf. pp. 327 f.).

For the adoption of the Babylonian year in this period and the names of the different months, cf. p. 205.

The dates for these years of Jewish history, so far as given in the O. T. literature and so far as the chronology can be determined from outside records (*e.g.* Canon of Ptolemy), are noted in the introductory sections and in connection with the outline of the Biblical material.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further on the chronology of the Old Testament HDB, i. 397 ff. (Curtis, E. L.). EBi, i. 774 ff. (Martí). Ency. Brit. (11th ed.), iii. 865 ff. (Driver). New Schaff-Herzog, xi. 442 ff. (Kittel and Rogers). Jew. Ency. iv. 64 ff. (Oppert and McCurdy). Sayce, Higher Crit., etc. 318 ff., cf. 407 ff. McCurdy, HPM, i. 409 ff. (n. 6 to § 216); ii. 420 ff. (n. 6 to § 638). W. R. Smith, Prophs. Isr.<sup>2</sup> 145 ff., 415 ff. W. J. Beecher, Dated Events of O. Test. Cf. Toffteen, Ancient Chronology. Toffteen, Historic Exodus.

For the period of the Divided Kingdom, cf. in addition Kittel, Hist. Hebrs. ii. 234 ff. Skinner, Ki. 38 ff. Barnes, Ki. xxv ff.

Cf. also art. "Israel's Conquest of Palestine" (Paton), in Journal Bib. Lit., vol. xxxii, pp. 1-53.

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*The chronological setting of the Old Testament History and Literature, as indicated in the Biblical Outline of the different periods.*

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